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# NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

CPSU: Programme of Peace and Upbuilding

White House Response Disappointing

South Lebanon Unvanquished

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One of the delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress was Nina Levkun, a schoolteacher from Irkutsk. To say that she is a busy woman is putting it mildly. The greater part of her working day, from early morning, is of course taken up by the school and her pupils. After school, she hurries to lectures at the Irkutsk centre of advanced studies for teachers of literature. Her evenings are taken up either with talking to her pupils' parents or attending a meeting of the city committee of the teachers' union. Besides which, as a deputy of the district Soviet, she receives constituents who come to seek her help and advice—an occupation calling for both patience and tact.

The public activity of women is a feature of the Soviet way of life. Their participation in the administration of the affairs of state is steadily growing. One third of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the highest legislative body in the country, are women. And there is an even greater proportion of women deputies to republican, territorial, regional, district and local Soviets.

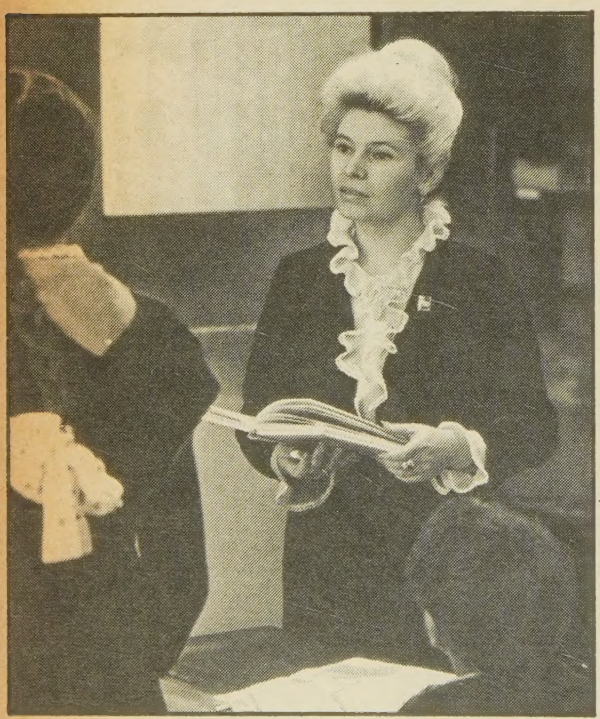
There are very few occupations in the Soviet Union that could be labelled "not for women." Science, technology, the arts, administrative work—women have won a durable place in all these spheres. But there is one calling of vital significance for society where the role of women is particularly notable—the teaching profession. As many as 1,753,000 women are engaged in the field of public education. Their dedication to their calling, their sensitivity and warmheartedness leave an indelible imprint on the minds and hearts of their pupils.

In socialist society the teaching profession "is one of the most responsible of callings," these words of eminent Soviet pedagogue Nadezhda Krupskaya have a most topical ring in our country where a school reform is at present under way. Its objective is to achieve the harmonious combination of general education and vocational training, to ensure the all-round intellectual development of the youth, to inculcate enduring work habits and provide a thorough specialized knowledge in the chosen field.

The two years since the reform began have witnessed some notable changes: the structure of the schools themselves has been improved, curricula have been revised, modern computer study techniques developed, and industrial enterprises and public organizations are taking an active part in preparing schoolchildren for a useful rewarding life.

Much has been accomplished to date but still more remains to be done. The programme of acceleration of socio-economic development advanced by the Party faces the schools with especially important tasks. For the upbringing and education of those who will be the full-fledged masters of their country in the 21st century must begin today. This calls for truly creative, innovative effort on the part of the pedagogues.

An inspiring example of such an approach is offered by teachers like Nina Levkun, whose energy, inspiration and spiritual warmth are wholly devoted to the rising generation.



**At a lesson.**

**Nina Levkun with her pupils.**

TASS photos

# FOR THE GOOD OF MAN

In our fast-moving 20th century a great many words and concepts fail to keep pace with the march of time and remain meaningful only to archivists. But there are also ideas not only of unfading significance but destined to give ever new impulse to life.

"Everything depends on man, everything for man," Maxim Gorky wrote. In his time this was something to ponder, something to translate into the reality. In the new text of the CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Congress we find this thought embodied in the now familiar formula: socialism is a society whose banner bears the inscription, "everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man."

Concern for the people is indeed the fundamental principle of our society. And we rightly take pride in what we have accomplished in the social sphere in the nearly 70 years since the founding of the Soviet state. It is from these unparalleled achievements that our Party proceeded in working out its present strategy of acceleration of the country's social and economic development.

New Times readers are already acquainted with our plans for the next five years and our guideposts leading up to the year 2000. But let us underscore once again the basic fact that the policy of acceleration is not confined to changes in the economic sphere alone, it envisages the pursuance of an active social policy, the consistent affirmation of socialist justice. The Party associates the realization of all our programme tasks with vigorous creative endeavour on the part of the masses, further democratization of society, further promotion of socialist self-government by the people.

In other words, it is a matter of activating the human factor. This is the decisive element in acceleration, in giving effect to all the changes so essential for society. It presents new demands to every individual and at the same time presupposes the creation of more favourable conditions for his life, his work and his intellectual development.

We make no secret of the fact that emphasis on the human factor, on social problems, is dictated also by the lessons of the past. As is pointed out in its political report to the 27th Congress, the Central Committee of the Party considers that both central and local bodies underestimated urgent problems relating to the material base of the social and cultural spheres. Overemphasis on technocratic solutions diverted attention away from the social aspect of production, everyday life, utilization of leisure time, with the result that the working people grew less interested in the results of their labour, discipline slackened, and other negative phenomena made themselves felt. All the measures being taken by the Party to restructure the economy and other areas of the life of society are projected at radically rectifying such shortcomings.

All our plans, all our thoughts are today focussed on the human factor. In the coming 15 years we propose to double the resources channelled to improving the conditions of life of the Soviet people. A big but fully feasible task has been set: to give every family a separate flat or a house by the year 2000. Much effort and resources will be invested in providing salubrious working conditions and up-to-date services, and in environmental protection.

In the nationwide pre-congress discussion and at the congress itself the serious impediments to the accomplishment of our urgent tasks—primarily bureaucracy, stagnation, conservatism—were subjected to profound and incisive examination. Frankly revealed from the congress rostrum was the price we had to pay for omissions in the social and spiritual sphere, departures from the Leninist standards of Party and state life, such negative phenomena as abuse of office, self-aggrandizement, arrogance, sycophancy. The political report of the Central Committee clearly indicates how all this can be ruled out in our society and underscores the Party's principle that not a single Party organization or a single functionary shall enjoy immunity from control and criticism. A climate of open, comradely criticism, honesty and sincerity, dedication to Party principle and the truth must prevail in our society, in every work collective.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly approve and support the Party's policy of promoting popular well-being, of strict observance of social justice, of cleansing our life of all that runs counter to the principles of socialism.

This active support of the policy of the Party by the masses and their eagerness to tackle the tasks ahead are a guarantee that the programme of acceleration will become the reality, that the social and human problems of our society will be resolved. And this will impart still greater significance and appeal to socialism's motto: everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man!

## FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ The new Soviet peace initiatives have caused many Italians to take a more sober look at the problem of disarmament. These proposals have once again demonstrated the good will of the U.S.S.R. More and more people in Italy who had adhered to pro-Western views are beginning to reconsider their position under the influence of the Soviet leader's public statements. Moreover, this is the result not of some diplomatic devices but of the impact of concrete and realistic proposals. May the ceaseless fight for peace the Soviet Union is waging be crowned with new successes.

**Fernando CRUCITTI**
Turin, Italy

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◆ One of the most absurd contentions of Washington is that peace and tranquillity are being threatened by the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. Even the bourgeois press has noted that there is no proof whatsoever of Libya's implication in the terrorist acts in Rome and Vienna. Yet it was on the basis of this false accusation plus the claim that vital American installations were threatened by a Libyan "suicide squad" formed by Colonel Gaddafi that the U.S. President imposed economic sanctions on Libya. The American government has always tried to create provocative confrontations in order to involve countries oriented on socialism in them. I would therefore suggest that the Libyan crisis was designed by the U.S. Administration with the aim of involving the Soviet Union in confrontatoin in the Middle East, and also of subverting the just cause of the Palestinian people. The pretext used by Mr Reagan for imposing sanctions is really ridiculous. At the same time, he turns a blind eye to the actual terrorism sponsored by the South African government which is a real threat to innocent human beings.

**Sudarsan SEN GUPTA**
Calcutta, India

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◆ I should like to voice some doubts about the Panorama section of your journal. To my mind the items published under this head ought to be shorter. On the other hand, I agree with your reader A. Lekhnin that the People on the World Scene column should give far more information about the person featured and should be a regular feature. After all, far from all your readers are well informed about one or another prominent personality, especially in the case of the smaller countries.

**Evgeny YEFIMOV**
Petrozavodsk, U.S.S.R.


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## A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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**The Editors extend heart-felt greetings to our woman readers at home and abroad on the occasion of March 8—the day of solidarity of women of all continents in promoting peace and progress, and opposing discrimination and oppression. Soviet women, equal members of our society, look into the future with optimism. The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress inspire them to new labour achievements.** **[See pp. 18-19.]**

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# THE PARTY CONGRESS: HOPE AND CONFIDENCE

## Notes of a Delegate

VADIM ZAGLADIN

On March 1, the 27th Congress of the CPSU passed its half-way point. Discussion of the first points on the agenda was completed, a resolution approved on the political report of the Central Committee, and the new text of the Party Programme and amendments to the Party Rules were adopted. On March 3, Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov delivered his report on the basic guidelines for economic and social development of the country, and at this writing the debate on it is in full swing.

The deliberations at the congress have differed in some rather important essentials from debates at previous congresses. Of course, formerly too the delegates dicussed in detail the proposals put forward by the Central Committee, amendments and new considerations were advanced, and wishes for the future voiced. All this is traditional at our Party forums.

A new departure at this congress has perhaps been the markedly business-like, sharply critical and at the same time optimistic character of the discussion. There is less ceremonial (although the atmosphere is one of uplift, even festive) and the tone is more matter-of-fact and concrete. Clearly, the very spirit of the political report of the Central Committee, its frankness, clarity in posing issues and emphasis on purposefulness and the unity of words and deeds, was communicated to the delegates.

The speakers deal with unresolved problems and criticize shortcomings. As a rule, they are **self-critical.** The stress is laid on what has to be done not only to rectify mistakes, but to give new impetus to all our efforts. Not only on doing what has been left undone, but on forging ahead more vigorously. Speaking of the significance of what has been achieved, delegates are not carried away by the successes, but seek to find in them points of departure for further purposeful advance.

The keynote is **acceleration.** This is in the centre of attention. Naturally, domestic affairs are linked with external, international affairs. On the one hand, the speakers invariably support the Party's plans to help ensure all-embracing international security. On the other, they are clearly aware that the most reliable groundwork for our successes in the foreign policy arena is our own labour, the performance of each on the job.

It should perhaps be noted that the speeches of the delegates this time are, so to say, more individual than at previous congresses. This too is understandable, for the more concrete and businesslike the approach, the more clearly expressed are individual thoughts and opinions.

Indeed, one can only marvel at the diversity of our great Party. Each of its 19,000,000-odd members is a personality, with his own unique individuality. Only to our opponents does it occur to talk of stereotyped uniformity of Communists.

The Party, of course, is close-knit and strong by virtue of its unity. But this is not the unity of some mechanically contrived giant, but the unity of the living organism, the collective inspired by single-minded determination to work towards lofty, high-minded goals. The unity of the Party is the unity of **people** working towards a common goal. It is a unity of thought and quest, of joint conclusions and bold creative endeavour.

It was this creative unity that was manifest in the discussion of the previous items on the agenda and is manifest now in the debate on the guidelines for economic and social development of the country.

Nikolai Ryzhkov's report, like the report of the CPSU General Secretary, was strictly realistic, critical and self-critical, and at the same time deeply optimistic.

It, of course, dealt first of all with the country's development since the previous congress. The results are something we can only be proud of. Our opponents abroad maintain that "the Russians are having to revise their programme inasmuch as it has proved a failure during the past stage." This is something that has been repeated latterly in the West scores, if not hundreds of times. This one-sided appraisal is, of course, utterly false.

True, we have not achieved all the targets we set ourselves in the past. This was clearly stated in the report of the Soviet Premier, as it had been in the political report of the Central Committee. But how can anyone belittle the achievements registered in the quarter-century since the adoption of the first text of the Party's Third Programme? National income increased nearly fourfold and industrial production nearly five times over, while the productivity of social labour more than trebled. All this made it possible to take a substantial stride forward in resolving socio-economic problems. The per capita real income of the Soviet people increased 2.6 times in these 25 years, and 267 million people were provided with better housing. The country went over to compulsory secondary education and a far-reaching reform of our secondary school system was initiated, and is now being carried forward.

All this momentous progress is what enables the Soviet Union to play a weighty role in both the world economy and in world politics.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that we accomplished less than we had planned and of course less than we wanted. The report of the head of the Soviet government gives a concrete, matter-of-fact account of why this happened—in order to point the way to a real acceleration of our further development.

One of the foreign guests at the congress told me that he had tangibly sensed the delegates' awareness of the dialectical interconnection between pride in past achievements and dissatisfaction with failure to achieve all that had been planned, the dialectic of successes and problems. This meaningful evaluation indeed offers the key to an understanding of the tasks facing the country.

The targets set for the future are truly impressive. In the 15 years until the year 2000 the object is to double the country's economic potential. Here is a relevant figure from Ryzhkov's report: the aggregate national income in 1986-2000 is to amount to 12 trillion rubles, more than in all the preceding years of Soviet power. This is essential in order to resolve the pressing domestic political, and primarily social, tasks, and to safeguard the country's security.

A very important step in this direc-

tion is to be taken in the 12th five-year-plan period. In the coming five years the accent is to be replaced on effectiveness, on higher productivity of labour, which is to lay the basis for the further rapid advance of the country.

Suffice it to say that during the 12th five-year-plan period the national income is to rise 3.5-4 per cent annually, as against 3.1 per cent during the 11th five-year plan. Anyone acquainted in the slightest with economic problems will appreciate how far from simple it will be to achieve such an acceleration of the growth of the national income.

I shall not go into the details. It is plain to see that the tasks facing the country are tremendous and far from simple. This is clearly stated in the documents submitted to the congress. Awareness of the fact is palpably felt in the delegates' speeches.

• • •

Our opponents in the West are taking a rather equivocal stance these days. On the one hand, no one ventures to deny the magnitude and significance of the tasks posed by the congress or that the fulfilment of the projected plans will result in a qualitative change in Soviet society as a whole. The well-known American scholar, Professor R. Schlesinger of the University of California, has observed that it can be said without exaggeration that this is the beginning of a fundamentally new stage in the life of Soviet society. The Japanese Tokyo Shimbun writes: "Congresses of the Communist Party are important landmarks in the life of the Soviet Union. The present congress may be described as an 'epochal congress,' ushering in a new historic stage in the life of the country." On the other hand, few Western commentators have not sought to cast a shadow of doubt on our plans. This is done in different ways. Some say pointblank that they do not believe our plans are feasible, others in one or another way qualify the tasks we have set as "excessive." And all sorts of advice is offered us.

What kind of advice?

On the first day of the congress I had occasion to take part in a direct Moscow-Paris radio hookup sponsored by the French Europe-1 broadcasting station. I had two collocutors. One was the well-known radio commentator Jean Pierre Elkabbach, the other, former U.S. ambassador to France, Evan Galbraith. The latter bluntly declared: "You will get nowhere. If something comes out of it, it will happen only if you restore freedom in the economy, renounce state planning, and give free rein to private initiative."

Galbraith was crude about it. Other advisers of the same order use more moderate language. To believe them, socialism in the U.S.S.R. can be saved only if it ceases to be socialism.

A touching picture! Diehard opponents of socialism advising us on how to improve it! It would appear that socialism can be improved only by being destroyed....

No, we cannot take such "advice" seriously. Look back at the history of our country. In less than seven decades it has developed from a poverty-stricken land into an advanced power. Thanks to what? To socialism. We stood our ground in that most destructive of wars—World War II. It may be confidently said that no other country, had it been placed in a situation we found ourselves in 1941, could have withstood the onslaught of the nazi war machine. The countries of continental Europe were unable to withstand it. But we withstood it. And not only withstood it, but won. Thanks to what? To socialism. In particular to the fact that the socialist planned economy based on public ownership of the means of production enabled us to restructure the economy within an unprecedentedly short period of time—moreover, at a time when the industrially most developed part of the country was under enemy occupation—and to build up an economic potential that ensured our victory.

During the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Victory a great deal of weighty data was published showing the relative potentialities of socialism and capitalism as revealed by the war. It was pointed out, for instance, that for its effectiveness the Soviet economy in those years surpassed not only the economy of nazi Germany, but also that of the United States and Britain. With equal expenditure of primary materials we produced more machinery, and of higher quality than, say, the United States whose territory in general was not touched by the hostilities.

Or take postwar restoration, which it would be more correct to call the rebirth of the country. This too was accomplished in a historically brief span of time, and again thanks to socialism. Or the achievement of such summits as the first sputnik, the first man in space, the first atomic electric power station, the first nuclear icebreaker.... We indeed have no reason to renounce socialism.

That there have been shortcomings and difficulties in our way is not the fault of socialism. The objective circumstances and, of course, subjective failings and mistakes are to blame.

Now too our Party is firmly steering a course aimed not at narrowing down the field of action of socialism in our country but at further strengthening its foundations, at making fuller use of the potential and advantages of our system. In this we see the key to success, a key to the communist morrow.

• • •

There is still another angle to the comment on the congress decisions relating to the internal political evolution of the country and its economic development. The reference is to those Western commentators who have discerned in our economic plans a "Soviet threat." In what precisely do they see this threat?

The logic of their reasoning (if it can be called that) is this: the Soviet plans envisage a growth of the country's economic potential, hence its military potential and, consequently, the "Soviet military threat" will also grow. Add to this the diverse, utterly unfounded discourses on the subject of the possible "expansionist" plans of Soviet policy in one or another region of the world.

All this could be dismissed as sheer invention. However, since views of this order are being vigorously and persistently circulated, a few more words should be added.

First of all, no attentive reader of the political report of the Central Committee, the report delivered by Ryzhkov, and the draft guidelines for the economic and social development of the country (by the time this issue comes off the press the last-mentioned will no longer be a draft, but the finalized document) can fail to see that the emphasis in all our plans is on **peaceful construction.** The main stress is placed on the creation of the groundwork for meeting the material and spiritual requirements of man, his all-round development.

As a matter of fact, much has been said on this score at the congress. It has been pointed out that not enough attention was paid to the social and cultural sphere and that now this omission has to be rectified and attention to this area sharply increased.

Incidentally, these are not merely wishes voiced by the delegates. The problem has already been tackled in practice. Even before the congress, following the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, our Party took a number of decisions on focussing more attention on social and cultural problems. Additional funds, materials and manpower—in a word, everything needed to get things going properly—have been allocated for this purpose.

Thus, our plans are not projected at the militarization of the country, but at its peaceful development. Where, then, does the "military threat" come in?

Needless to say, the growth of our economic potential increases our capability to protect our interests, to keep our defences at the necessary level.

Here too it is a matter of defence, not of aggressive designs. The political report of the Central Committee clearly declared that the importance we attach to ensuring our security is only natural. We could not act otherwise. For it is nobody's secret that the Pentagon already has plans for the militarization of the United States all the way to the 21st century. Nor is it a secret that there exist old plans for war against our country and that new ones are being drawn up.

It is enough to read the U.S. President's February 26 address to the nation to see that, as distinct from what is happening at our congress, Washington is orienting not on the new realities, but on the outdated and dangerous positions-of-strength concept.

We regard the Soviet-American contacts that have begun with a high sense of responsibility and have no intention of closing the doors to them. This was underscored at the Party forum. But we cannot ignore the fact that, although we now and again hear words about peace—and words, even the finest, are only words—the material preparation of war goes on, with the Soviet Union named as the potential enemy. We see all this and shall never close our eyes to it.

As regards the military sphere, our intentions are defensive and our object is to ensure the security of our country and nothing more. Our military potential is limited to reasonable adequacy, but "the character and level of the ceiling," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "continues to be limited by the attitude and actions of the U.S.A. and its bloc partners. In these circumstances we repeat over and over again: the Soviet Union **lays no claim to greater security than that enjoyed by others, but it will not settle for less.**"

Thus, all talk about our country presenting a "military threat" is sheer nonsense. Nonsense that has essentially only one purpose: to justify the further escalation of war preparations by the United States and some of its allies.

* * *

Besides the "Soviet military threat" angle, there is another aspect to the talk about the growth of our economic strength presenting a threat to someone. And to some extent this aspect acquires ever greater significance as time goes on. What do I have in mind?

The growth of the might of the socialist countries virtually dooms to failure any attempt at military confrontation with socialism. In these circumstances the centre of gravity in the contest between the two systems in the world arena is shifting towards peaceful competition. Needless to say, competition primarily in the economic sphere, but also in the social sphere.

Socialism has already chalked up a good many points in this competition. Indeed, if in the early postwar years the Soviet Union lagged far behind the United States, at present the levels of development of the two countries have come closer together. On many counts we are catching up with the Americans and in some, have outstripped them.

We know very well, of course, that much more has still to be done, primarily as regards productivity of labour, the speed with which the achievements of science and technology are introduced in production, and so on. Nevertheless the dynamics of competition in the economic sphere is working in favour of socialism.

As for the social sphere, here socialism long ago left capitalism behind. Full employment, free education, free medical services, social security and low rents are something working people in the West can only dream of. Moreover, it is clear that with the acceleration of the rate of development the social advantages of socialism are revealed ever more fully. Our plans on this score are very definite and will be carried out.

But this is precisely what our opponents in the West are afraid of. The Soviet Union's striving to strengthen its peace economy and heighten popular well-being can seem frightening and dangerous only to those who tremble at the thought of socialism revealing more and more fully its potential and advantages, those who fear that all this taken together could expose in the eyes of the working people in the West the limited potential of the capitalist system, its inability to meet the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

"As we see it," the political report of the Central Committee says, "the main line of struggle in present-day conditions is to create worthy, truly human material and spiritual conditions of life for all nations, to see to it that our planet should be habitable and to deal with its riches rationally. Above all to deal rationally with the greatest value of all—with people and all their potentialities. That is exactly where we offer the capitalist system to compete with us in a setting of lasting peace."

It is precisely this competition that certain Western quarters fear. For, contrary to what they say as a rule, they know full well that the basic class mission of their system is to ensure not the well-being of the people but maximum profits for the monopolies.

Open admission of the existence of such fears occurs rarely, but there is no dearth of indirect admissions. For instance, it has been said or written time and again that it is in the interests of the West to create difficulties for the Soviet economy, that there should be no growth of popular well-being in our country. How many times, especially in the recent period, have there been hints that the escalation of the arms buildup by the West pursues not only purely military but also economic objectives—the weakening of the Soviet economy, the creation of additional difficulties in the matter of meeting the needs of the population. In short, the object is to stop the improvement of living standards, of the quality of life, in the Soviet Union.

* * *

While some Western commentators see dangers and even threats in our plans and intentions, wide sections of the world public derive from them hope for the strengthening of peace and democracy, for social renewal.

Here it is in place to mention the guests of the congress. This time there are more of them than ever before. Communist, workers', revolutionary democratic, socialist, social democratic and labour parties and national liberation movements from 113 countries of all continents sent their envoys to Moscow. This fact alone is testimony to the keen interest evinced in the deliberations of the congress, to recognition of the role of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the international arena.

Still more striking evidence of this are the speeches delivered by our guests and the views they have voiced in the course of numerous conversations and talks.

It is of course impossible to give even an approximate account of all these talks and speeches. But there are some basic aspects common to them all that should be mentioned.

For one thing, our guests have naturally made particular note of the critical and self-critical character of the supreme Party forum. As many of them observed, it was as if the truth itself, the unvarnished truth, were speaking out from the congress rostrum. This is seen as an encouraging sign, a token of the intrinsic strength of socialism.

What our guests consider most important is the fact that the criticism has been constructive, aimed not simply at correcting one or another mistake, but at finding the most effective avenues for the further development of Soviet society. The trail-blazing, pioneering character of the congress and its thrust to the future has impressed our foreign visitors.

The fact that both the criticism and the positive proposals at the congress are not of a pragmatic nature but are

substantiated theoretically, commands attention. Many of our friends qualify the new generalizations and arguments advanced in the political report of the Central Committee and the report of the Soviet Premier as further development of Marxist-Leninist theory. In this most see proof that the Party's present conclusions are well-grounded and that it will continue its theoretical quest in the process of its practical work.

The main point made by our friends is that the congress decisions will help to reveal more fully the potential of socialism, its possibilities. And this in turn will instil in ever new sections of the popular masses faith in socialism, in social progress, in the possibility of effective advance along new lines, and thereby heighten the potential of social progress the world over.

It is no secret that the problems and difficulties encountered in recent years in socialist countries, including our country, have been seized upon by anti-socialist propaganda to undermine faith in the possibility of advance along lines other than capitalist. Our weaknesses and shortcomings have been played up to make it appear as if the striving for social changes is futile, that it can produce no results. The advance of socialism in the Soviet Union, the tapping of its vast intrinsic potential, will expose the falseness of such contentions.

Our friends and comrades from the other socialist countries have naturally underscored the fact that successes in perfecting socialism in the U.S.S.R. will strengthen the socialist world system as a whole and above all consolidate the positions of the socialist community.

The communist movement as a whole and primarily the fraternal parties of the socialist countries have long been fully aware that mechanical copying of one another's experience, the devising of some sort of abstract models, is a futile exercise. But as time goes on it becomes increasingly clear that it is necessary to make a careful study of one another's experience and to utilize the most valuable results of creative Marxist thinking in the various countries to accelerate one's own progress. In view of this, our friends from the other socialist countries have been listening with keen interest to the conclusions drawn by our congress, to the views on ways and means of giving added impetus to the development of socialism voiced at our Party forum.

Our comrades from the capitalist countries are interested in everything. In particular, they point to the experience and example of socialism as serving the purpose of exposing the long current Western propaganda contention that technical progress, the scientific and technological revolution, are bound to have negative consequences. Indeed, in the West it has become a standard argument that scientific and technological progress creates nothing short of a threat to people irrespective of the social system they live under. The fact is, however, that both our achievements to date and our plans for the future convincingly show that this is not so.

Scientific and technological progress in itself presents no threat to man. The threat emanates from improper use of technical progress. The capitalist approach to it leads to negative consequences, primarily growing unemployment, social insecurity, poverty and want. In the socialist society technological progress serves man, improves living and working conditions.

All our friends from the capitalist world and the newly independent countries, of course, are impressed by the social plans of our Party, by the fact that the policy of the CPSU is a policy that serves the people's interests.

The representatives of newly independent countries have underscored the significance of the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R., the fact that socialism, through the example of the Soviet Union, has conclusively shown that the new social system can ensure the rapid development of the nations. And not only by enabling them to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past, but also by making it possible for formerly underdeveloped regions to move to the forefront of economic, technological and social progress.

Needless to say, they also point to the importance of the support given by socialism to the struggle of the peoples of the newly independent countries to strengthen their independence and to speed up their economic development.

As I have mentioned above, the number of guests representing socialist, social democratic, and labour parties at this congress is greater than at any previous Party forum. The social democratic delegates attach much importance to the very fact that they were invited to attend. They evince a keen interest in many of the points in the political report of the Central Committee as well as the report on the basic guidelines of economic and social development of the country. Particular attention is commanded by the formulations of the political report relating to the further development of relations between the Communists and the Social Democrats. "It is a fact that the ideological differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats are deep, and that their achievements and experience are dissimilar and not equivalent," the political report says. "However, an unbiassed look at the standpoints and views of each other is unquestionably useful to both the Communists and the Social Democrats, useful in the first place for furthering the struggle for peace and international security." Our social democratic guests see in these formulations a good groundwork for the fruitful promotion of contacts between the CPSU and the social democratic, socialist and labour parties.

All our foreign guests have of course underscored the significance of the platform advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

"This is a congress of hope and confidence," one of the guests observed in the course of a conversation during a recess between sessions.

On this score the representatives of the international working-class and liberation movements and Soviet people are at one. We too look to the future with hope. This outlook of hope was the keynote of the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and now it has been strengthened by the congress. We too are confident, confident of the correctness of the Party's line and the consistency and dedication to principle of its leadership, of the purposefulness and feasibility of our plans.

Every civic-minded Soviet citizen knows that realization of the congress decisions depends also on his own labour, on his personal contribution. The personal and the public are closely intertwined in our society. This is an inexhaustible source of strength for our system. It strengthens our confidence in the future, in the success of the plans outlined by the Party.

■

# BABRAK KARMAL: ARDUOUS PATH, WORTHY GOAL

**Amongst the guests at the 27th Congress of the CPSU was BABRAK KARMAL, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. While the congress was in session he was interviewed for New Times by Dmitry Zgersky.**

**First of all, Comrade Karmal, what are your impressions as a guest at the 27th Congress, which is such an important event for every Soviet citizen?**

I must say that the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a milestone not only in the life of the U.S.S.R., but of all of progressive mankind. Initial reactions have already shown the deep impression the political report by Mikhail Gorbachev has produced worldwide, especially amongst progressive forces. It was quintessentially Leninist and reflected the leading and guiding role the CPSU is playing in all spheres of life in Soviet society, in political, scientific, cultural and other areas. Moreover, the report is to my mind a landmark in the evolution of political thought.

It is hard to single out any individual element in the political report and other congress documents as being the most significant. But it is safe to stress one important aspect: today when the Damocles sword of nuclear catastrophe hangs over the planet, the 27th CPSU Congress has taken a constructive stand in defence of peace, for the security of all peoples. I believe that the position of the Soviet Union is of truly immense significance in the defence of peace at a time when the destiny of human civilization hangs in the balance.

We are proud that our delegation should have taken part in the work of the 27th Congress. I am already aware of the profound satisfaction inspired in my revolutionary country by that part of the political report which offers a logical and perfectly valid assessment of the situation that has now taken shape in Afghanistan and on its borders.

Yes, we have to repel aggressive incursions on the part of Afghan reactionaries backed by imperialism. However, we are today still more confident of the victory of the revolution and the fact that our party and government have taken up a correct and principled position. That is why they enjoy the support of the great Soviet Union. It can be said that our path is arduous, but our goal is worthy.

We should like to express our appreciation to Comrade Gorbachev for the support and understanding of our position expressed in the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress.

**You have said that Afghanistan has to repel the incursions on the part of reactionaries backed by imperialism. Could you tell us about it in more detail?**

I'll try to be specific. About 150 centres have been set up in Pakistan, Iran and China which annually train 40,000-50,000 counterrevolutionary bandits for subversive acts against the Democratic Afghanistan.

Now about Washington's role. We are speaking of an undeclared war waged by the U.S. against Afghanistan. You can judge for yourself: in recent years the American government has allocated almost $1.5 billion to the criminal war against our people. In addition to that, Japan, the F.R.G., Saudi Arabia and a number of reactionary international organizations annually finance Afghan counterrevolution to the tune of a billion dollars. China and Pakistan have made available to counterrevolutionaries vast quantities of hardware, military equipment, and heavy weaponry, including missiles.

And so, it came about that the PDPA became a fighting party. It has managed to organize an appropriate rebuff to internal and external enemies of the revolution and arouse the people to defend their country. Almost two thirds of the Party members have been sent to join the armed forces. Fighting the dushmans shoulder-to-shoulder with the army and people's militia are local self-defence units, tribal voluntary forces, and regiments and battalions of border malishes (volunteer people's fighters helping the frontier guards).

We cannot but speak of our losses. The undeclared war imposed on us is the gravest trial for the young republic and its long-suffering people. The counterrevolutionaries have destroyed and burned 39 state-owned enterprises, 250 mosques and prayer houses, 2,707 schools and 130 medical centres. Material damage amounts to 36 billion afghani (100 afghani=1.47 rubles—Ed). Now one in every two budget afghani, one in two metres of fabric, one in two loaves of bread go to the soldiers of the revolution, to the defence of the country. A peaceful country which had not waged war against anyone since 1919 has increasing numbers of women wearing black mourning kerchiefs. At the suggestion of the wives and mothers of dead patriots we have established a Union of Widows, probably the only one in the world.

As regards the question of bringing an end to the undeclared war, the Party and the government are taking every measure to settle the Afghanistan situation by peaceful political means. The main content of these measures is a complete end to and guaranteed non-resumption of armed and any other outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We are trying to solve these problems at the Geneva talks. However, despite repeated proposals from our side, Pakistan has rejected direct negotiations. In Geneva we took an important step and presented the Pakistani delegation, through Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, with a summary of the draft document on the interconnection between agreements on non-interference, guarantees and refugees and the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent. But this time again, the Pakistani side, under pressure from the U.S.A., has failed to reciprocate.

**Comrade Karmal, you have stated on more than one occasion that external imperialist forces must be opposed by the unity of the Afghan people. What is being done in your republic to broaden the social base of your popular revolution?**

Our Party is carrying out work

amongst the people in three directions. First, the strengthening of its own ranks. More and more patriots, coming forward from all social strata, are linking their destinies with that of the Party. It now has about 150,000 members, eight times more than before the revolution. We are proud that every year more and more workers, peasants and artisans are joining the PDPA. They account for almost 35 per cent of Party membership. More than half of the candidate members of the Party are young men and women who have passed through the school of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. At the same time the Party is being joined by representatives of older generations, who bring with them the heroic traditions of the peoples and tribes.

As women become more active in social, political and economic life their influx into the Party increases. Over the past six years the number of women in the PDPA has doubled to reach 12,000.

I want to note that Afghanistan is a multinational country and accordingly the PDPA is a multinational party. Representatives of 20 nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes are united in the Party ranks.

The Party has determined a new approach to expanding the social base which envisages:

—establishing contacts, through constructive dialogue and cooperation, with non-revolutionary groups and elements and with part of those forces that have so far been hostile to us;

—creating socio-political organizations and groups which, while not opposing the goals of the revolution, and observing the humanitarian laws of the Democratic Afghanistan, would help realize the aspirations and interests of various social strata and classes;

—broadening the composition of the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers, the local bodies of power, by involving patriotically-minded representatives of all strata and groups of the population, notably workers, peasants, servicemen, intellectuals, artisans, clergy, chiefs and elders, entrepreneurs and traders, scientists, cultural workers, women, and former members of counter-revolutionary bands who have gone over to the side of the revolution.

These are not mere declarations of intent. Work is being done. During the past three months the Revolutionary Council, the supreme government body, has been increased by 79 people, to more than twice its former size. The Council of Ministers has been increased by 25 people. Seventy per cent of the newly elected and appointed members of the top bodies are non-Party people. There is now every ground for saying that the leading tribal and religious authorities, scientists and cultural workers are involved in running the revolutionary state with the workers and peasants.

As for the elections to local government bodies, these are the first genuinely free democratic elections in the history of Afghanistan. True, we have had to carry them out in stages because of the tense situation and the undeclared war. Elections have already been held in a third of the provinces. And imagine, despite the difficulties created by aggression and counterrevolution, 90 per cent of the electorate went to the polls. Workers and peasants constitute 49.2 per cent of the newly elected jirgahs (local councils). Amongst those elected by the people are representatives of all classes, strata and groups in the population, most of them non-Party people. For the first time women have been elected to the jirgahs.

Finally, the social base is being broadened by means of the main links in the political system, the mass public organizations.

Since the revolution, membership of the trade unions has increased from 28,000 to 280,000, of the Democratic Youth Organization from 5,000 to 155,000, and the Democratic Women's Organization from 3,000 to 50,000. The Party has realized its ideal of uniting all progressive and patriotic forces under the banner of the revolution and has initiated the creation of the National Fatherland Front of Afghanistan. Today the Front has about 800,000 members which include members of trade unions, women's and youth organizations, unions of creative intellectuals, the Consultative Economic Council of the D.R.A., the councils of ulemas and clergy, jirgahs, tribal representantives and the D.R.A. organizations for peace and solidarity, all in all, 18 organizations and associations. The Fatherland Front also includes individual members who are not affiliated to the Party or any organization.

**What have you achieved on the economic front?**

Let me make comparisons with the pre-revolutionary level. The generation of electric energy has increased 1.5 times, the production of building materials has risen fivefold and the volume of freight haulage tenfold.

Land and water reform is under way, and since its inception 335,000 peasant families have received plots of land. Furthermore, the revolution has relieved peasants of burdensome debts to feudal landlords and money-lenders. The cooperative movement is gaining in scope.

Even so, I have to admit that the Party's influence amongst the peasants is insufficient. The number of PDPA members among the peasants is still low. At the new stage of the revolution the Party and government are carrying out patient and purposeful work amongst the peasants regarding land and water reform both as an important goal of the revolution and as a means of involving the majority of the population in democratic change, making them genuine allies of the working class. This strengthens revolutionary power, extends its social base and normalizes the situation.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers have developed draft Main Guidelines for the economic and social development of the country from 1986 to 1990, which envisages a 25-per cent increase in the gross national product and a further rise in living standards. We are committed to strengthening the public sector which at present accounts for over 60 per cent of industrial output.

Wages and salaries have been raised twice. The people's incomes have grown 1.9 times. A total of about 400,000 square metres of housing has been built, financed by the government. The number of hospital beds has increased by 80 per cent, and the number of doctors, by 40 per cent.

Before the revolution 90 per cent of the population of Afghanistan could neither read nor write. There are now 21,000 literacy classes with 476,000 pupils. We have built 409 schools and the number of kindergartens has increased ten times. We have established 13 Motherland boarding schools for children whose parents died fighting for the revolution.

Mention must be made of the extensive assistance the Soviet Union is rendering us. Suffice it to say that 201 economic projects have been built, or are under construction in Afghanistan with Soviet assistance. Public sector enterprises, set up with Soviet assistance, account for about 75 per cent of our industrial output.

For our people, friendship with the U.S.S.R. is not only a noble historical tradition, not only a national principle, but a vital political necessity. It is a reliable guarantee of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan as a free, peaceful, non-aligned state.

# OBSTRUCTION IN THE ETHER

**The 27th CPSU Congress has evoked enormous interest all over the world. Over a thousand correspondents came to Moscow to cover its deliberations for the leading newspapers and magazines. There was also a large group of newsmen representing foreign TV and radio companies. The U.S.S.R. State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting set up an electronic press centre to cater for their needs and ensure regular transmissions from Moscow.**

The telephones on the desk of Valentin Lazutkin, head of the electronic press centre, buzzed almost non-stop. Some callers had demands to make, others asked for favours, still others sought his advice.

"Do you care for ice-cream?"

Valentin Lazutkin put this question not to a New Times correspondent but to someone at the other end of the line. The telephone receiver rustled an affirmative.

"In that case find a car, bring a fridge in, and think of where to put it."

"The ice-cream will arrive on time," Lazutkin told me. "The commentators will find it most welcome after a hot spell under the studio lights. On this first day of the congress alone, our press centre will send out 50 telecasts, without mentioning the live transmission from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses via the satellite communication system beamed to 120 countries. At our estimate over two billion people watched the opening of the 27th Congress on television."

In Ostankino—the Soviet TV and radio centre—several storeys of studios and editing rooms were lent to foreign correspondents for the duration of the congress. Each of the 56 TV and radio companies accredited there had a specially equipped office to itself. Everything had been thought out to the last detail. In every office there were multichannel camera monitors making it possible to follow not only the congress deliberations but also what was going on around it: pictures came in from all the TV transmitters turned on at the time. The speeches were simultaneously interpreted into 11 languages. Special communication channels made it possible to maintain round-the-clock links with New York and Berlin, Tokyo and Kabul, Havana and Sofia. Each office was fitted with two clocks, one showing Moscow time and the other, local time.

The radio and video equipment placed at the foreign journalists' disposal operated without a hitch. Soviet television had prepared a wealth of video material on the congress theme. Every condition for normal work had been provided for over 330 radio and TV journalists (double the number of those who covered the previous congress).

"Why don't you call at the press centre and see what's what with your own eyes?" Valentin Lazutkin asked.

The Ostankino electronic press centre was quieter and less crowded than the main one on Zubovsky Boulevard. Nevertheless, the atmosphere there was businesslike, with the din of voices muffled by heavy studio doors and the thick walls of the commentators' booths and recording rooms.

A soundproof door opened noiselessly to let me into the studio of the American ABC TV company as its "team" was about to go on the air. The last-minute rapid-fire instructions came in from New York over a loudspeaker. Vladimir Pozner, the Soviet television commentator whom ABC had asked to cooperate, appeared on some 15 camera monitor screens. The narrator—Peter Jennings, the well-known American observer—telecast daily news bulletins from Ostankino.

Next I went to the G.D.R.'s TV office. A live telecast from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was on. I had a talk with Arndt Grewe, one of the correspondents.

"Besides live telecasts," Grewe said, "we transmit, at least twice a day, our own comments, cover the proceedings of the congress, interview delegates and guests. Our Moscow bureau has prepared a whole series of TV films in advance. Today, for instance, G.D.R. television will show a film about the Baikal-Amur railway," Grewe told me as he leafed through a programme schedule.

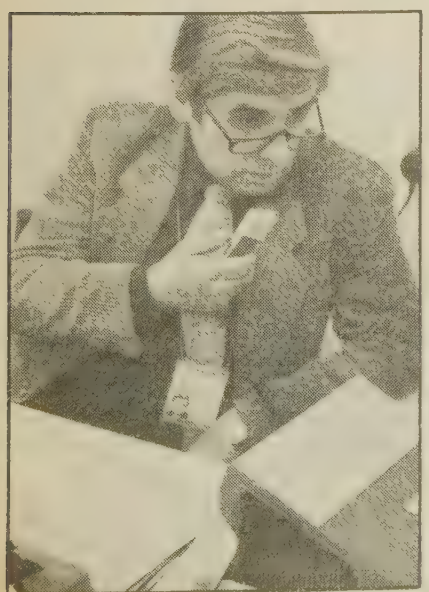
A loudspeaker suddenly came to life on his desk.

"Hullo, Moscow, Berlin calling. How much air time do you want for Makosch tonight?"

"Five minutes," Grewe replied into a microphone.

The world's leading TV observers—among them Peter Jennings from the U.S., Ulrich Makosch from the G.D.R., Pyotr Kozhukharov from Bulgaria, Deisy Gomez from Cuba, Abdulla Shadon from Afghanistan—came to cover the 27th CPSU Congress. Each of them fully enjoyed "extraterritoriality" in his studio or his commentator's booth. How did they use the opportunity offered them to inform their audiences about the deliberations of the 27th CPSU Congress? What were their comments like?

**Arndt Grewe calling Berlin.**



**In an ABC studio.**
Photos by V. Panov

We asked our own correspondents in New York, Bonn and Tokyo to share their impressions of reports from Moscow by U.S., F.R.G. and Japanese companies.

## New York

Judging from what I saw on the TV screen during the congress, American correspondents were given every opportunity to visit various parts of the Soviet Union, factories and plants, schools, and the homes of Soviet citizens. But the only colour American commentators and correspondents covering the congress tried to paint the colour TV picture was black. The speakers at the Party congress levelled criticism at shortcomings to be removed from Soviet society. They stressed that the purpose of this criticism was to assert and augment the rights and achievements of Soviet citizens. The American reporters, however, turned a blind eye to such achievements of socialism as total literacy, for instance. Had I tried here, in the U.S., where every third adult cannot read the state language, to interview any passerby at random in a foreign language, the result would have been total failure and an uncomprehending stare. The CBS and ABC reporters didn't have to learn Russian in Moscow—the Soviet people they interviewed talked with them in English.

The Soviet state's care of children is common knowledge. For many Americans who have visited the U.S.S.R. this came as a surprise. But American journalists had their job to do. An American lady correspondent visited a Soviet school and interviewed some senior-formers who told her, in good English, that they were pleased with their life full of interesting and varied occupations. She commented that it was a shame for children to be pleased with their country and to want no changes in the state's attitude to them. It was hard to find any logic in the report. A congress delegate—a factory worker—answered a correspondent's questions. The latter, like doubting Thomas, turned everything inside out in an attempt to prove that the interviewee was not free to speak his mind.

A well-known American paper is estimated to have predicted the end of the Soviet state more than a hundred times over the years of Soviet power. American TV reports maintained this fiction.

## Bonn

Last week the current events programme of ARD, the first channel of F.R.G. television, was devoted to the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The telecast was conducted via satellite by ARD correspondents in Moscow, London, and Berlin. Others taking part were the Soviet writer on world affairs Nikolai Portugalov in Moscow and a local "Sovietologist," Professor Boris Meissner, in Cologne, from where the telecast was transmitted.

During the discussion Professor Meissner, although he admitted that the Soviet leadership "seriously" sought to accelerate the socio-economic development of the country, tried to question the feasibility of these plans. He said that the concept of the CPSU was lacking in what he considered the "decisive" elements—"wider scope for private property" and "market economy principles." The Soviet participant in the discussion naturally objected. Within the time allowed him, Portugalov explained to the television audience that the Soviet economy develops in conformity with socialist principles and that the widening of independent initiative at enterprise level has nothing in common with capitalist competition.

On the opening day of the congress newscasts on both F.R.G. television channels included detailed reports from Moscow. In their accounts of Mikhail Gorbachev's report, the correspondents singled out his appraisal of President Reagan's response to the Soviet statement of January 15. They stressed that the Soviet side sees the importance of a new summit meeting in it yielding practical results in the cardinal areas of limitation and reduction of armaments. Moscow believes, the reports said, that agreement could be achieved at least on two issues: termination of nuclear tests and elimination of the Soviet and American medium-range missiles.

On the whole, however, F.R.G. televiewers have so far not been given a full picture of the CPSU congress. Since the initial broadcast it has in effect ceased to figure in television newscasts. And this despite the great interest evinced by the public in the Federal Republic in the deliberations of the congress. Will F.R.G. television make up for lost time? Judging by the programme for next week, only one broadcast devoted to the Soviet Union has been scheduled.

## Tokyo

On the opening day of the 27th Congress of the CPSU I eagerly waited for the newscast of Japan's leading television corporation NHK. It brought to the screen glimpses of Moscow in festive garb, the brightly lit Kremlin, and the delegates in the congress hall listening to the main report. NHK correspondent Kobayashi began his commentary by noting the epoch-making importance of the 27th Congress for the Soviet Union. He voiced the view that the congress decisions would make themselves felt in the development of Soviet-Japanese relations in diverse spheres. Direct telecasts from Moscow via satellite were transmitted by the four other television stations with correspondents in Moscow.

But already the next day not only views of the congress, but all mention of it had disappeared from Japanese TV screens. Was it because the Japanese were not interested in what was happening in Moscow? No, they are very much interested. Newspapers belonging to the very same concerns as the TV stations carry daily commentaries, interviews and articles sent in by their correspondents. Or are the TV correspondents professionally so much inferior to the pressmen? The answer again is no. They have been sending their reports to Tokyo just as regularly, I have been told by local TV employees, who admit that the omission is abnormal and suggest that it might be due to the congress being overshadowed by sensational and highly telegenic events in the Philippines, the uprising in Egypt, and the assassination of Premier Olof Palme of Sweden. But the fact remains that sensational events occur all the time; they occurred also on February 25, the first and last day the congress was given time on TV.

Another possible explanation comes to mind: might it not be that Tokyo too has not escaped the campaign mounted by U.S. Right-wing quarters against television stations that "dare" to carry objective information about the U.S.S.R., to acquaint their audiences with the Soviet view of what is happening in the world.

The Japanese press gave a detailed account of the hysterical reaction of President Reagan, White House staff members and Republican leaders to the appearance on ABC television channels of the Soviet commentator Vladimir Pozner, who gave an appraisal of the U.S. President's response to the Soviet proposal that the world be totally rid of nuclear weapons. Another possible explanation is that two thirds of all Japanese learn about world events from the television screen, while the press is the information source for only one third.

There may be other explanations as well. But the fact remains that tens of millions of Japanese TV viewers have been denied an opportunity to learn about events that play a far bigger role in their lives than telegenic upheavals, revolts and murders.

**N. ZHOLKVER (Moscow)**
**A. ARKHIPOV (New York)**
**A. TOLPEGIN (Bonn)**
**Y. TAVROVSKY (Tokyo)**

# THE TRAGEDY IN SVEAVÄGEN STREET

From Our Special Correspondent
YURI GUDKOV

The atmosphere in Sweden is one of shock and disbelief. Much is being said and written in the attempt to comprehend what in "peaceful" Sweden must have seemed unthinkable, the assassination of Prime Minister Olof Palme.

On Saturday morning, March 1, thousands queued up outside the huge pink Rosenbad building housing the office of the Prime Minister to sign the visitors' book lying on a white table beneath a small picture of the late Prime Minister draped in black. Floral tributes were laid at the door of the house where he lived.

I asked several people in the queue what their first thought had been when they learnt of the killing.

In reply, each said the same thing, often even using the same words. "It cannot be," they said. "It must be a mistake, a stupid joke. This could have happened anywhere except with us here in Sweden."

Now, however, Swedes too are asking themselves with increasing frequency: "Are we too becoming a country of political violence?"

The disbelief and dismay are understandable: after all, Sweden's last political assassination was the killing of the King in 1792, almost two centuries ago.

So far the assassin has not been caught. Police are still theorizing and attempting to reconstruct, minute-by-minute, the events of that fateful night. All that is known is that two men are wanted. One of them was described by witnesses as a man wearing a long dark coat. Two hand-made 9 mm-calibre bullets have been found. Olof Palme was fatally hit by one of them. The murderer probably thought that the Premier could have a bullet-proof jacket. But Palme never used it. There are many indications that the assassination had been carefully planned and the late Premier tracked. The questioning of the ten eyewitnesses continues. Airports have been closed and ferries prevented from leaving for other countries. Streets are patrolled by reinforced police squads.

At 11.15 p.m. on Friday, February 28, Olof Palme and his wife emerged from the Grand Cinema in Stockholm's central Sveavägen Street. He had no bodyguards with him, having decided, as he himself had put it, "to feel like a normal person." In a matter of minutes husband and wife covered on foot the short distance to the intersection with Tunnelgatan. At 11.21 p.m. the driver of a taxicab parked on the opposite corner of the street heard a shot, followed by another, and saw a tallish dark-haired man running away. According to Palme's widow, the shots came from behind. Palme fell at once, the bullet exited his body cutting through the aorta and causing heavy bleeding from the mouth. The second bullet missed the Premier.

Early that Saturday morning, on the snow-covered pavement of Sveavägen Street, which police had cordoned off with red and white tape, there was a large pool of blood, and beside it a small nosegay and a lighted candle. Now the spot has been fenced off with a metal barrier and is visited by endless streams of people who have carpeted the entire area with red roses.

Arne Ruth, one of the three editors-in-chief of Stockholm's biggest newspaper Dagens Nyheter, told your correspondent that February 28 was one of the most tragic days in modern Swedish history.

**A very recent photograph of Olof Palme with his wife Lisbeth leading a torchlight procession in memory of the Swedish public figure Alva Mjordal, well known for her advocacy of peace and disarmament. Who could have imagined then that only ten days later he would die at an assassin's hand and that candles would be lit to his memory!**

Photo from Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)

"Even Palme's political opponents are in despair," he noted. "Our Prime Minister was an outstanding personage who enjoyed respect in the Third World, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, virtually all over the world. He will not be forgotten in Africa, Asia, or Latin America. No wonder some Swedes regarded him with caution. They believed that by giving so much attention to foreign affairs he was ignoring domestic issues. Though it is untrue, that view is current. And therein lies the danger of isolation. This has to be emphasized because in the world today no country can isolate itself from others. One hopes we shall rather see the reverse, for this is our duty to Palme's memory."

True, he added, on that same Saturday when all Sweden was plunged in grief, a group in a Stockholm restaurant called for champagne to celebrate, it was learnt, the death of the leader of Sweden's Social Democrats.

Olof Palme achieved world prominence in 1968 when as Minister of Education and Religious Affairs he led a mass demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The picture of him standing next to the Vietnamese ambassador appeared in newspapers round the world. In protest the U.S. State Department recalled its ambassador to Washington for "consultations." Several years later his attack on Washington's designs to depose Nicaragua's Sandinist government by force evoked a further political demarche by the U.S. State Department.

For many years Olof Palme headed the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security, which has put forward a whole range of initiatives to reduce the nuclear threat, and more specifically, a proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. He energetically advocated making Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone. He qualified SDI as a dangerous illusion escalating the arms race, and was one of the sponsors of the May 1984 Delhi Declaration that called for an end to the testing, manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, to be followed by a considerable cutback in nuclear forces. Time and again he acted as a mediator for the U.N., his last mission being to mediate in the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq.

As Prime Minister he twice visited the U.S.S.R.—in 1970 and 1976. In the autumn of 1980 he led a delegation from the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden, which came to the U.S.S.R. at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He was to visit the U.S.S.R. again next month.

Swedes were deeply appreciative of the fact that the delegates to the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party stood in silence for a minute in tribute to Palme's memory.

Following the government's emergency meeting, Palme's deputy Ingvar Carlsson is to serve as acting Prime Minister. He has also been appointed to succeed Palme as party chairman and nominated for premiership. Speaking at a press conference, Carlsson said that his party's policy would remain unchanged. The Board of the Social Democratic Labour Party has instituted the Olof Palme foundation for international understanding and universal security.

In accordance with the law, the cabinet has been dissolved. The speaker of the Riksdag has started consultations with the leaders of the parliamentary parties as to who will take office as Prime Minister. The new head of the cabinet will then form a government and present it to the Riksdag for approval.

Stockholm, March 4

# PANORAMA

## NATO

# GENERAL ROGERS' NOVELTIES

As the world public discusses the Soviet disarmament programme, NATO is planning its own arms buildup. According to the Brussels-based NATO Report weekly, U.S. General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander of NATO's United Forces in Europe, has dispatched his emissaries to allied capitals to convince NATO countries of the necessity to modernize the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe.

Rogers proposes, more specifically, that obsolescent aviation bombs be replaced with new air-to-ground missiles and that the Lance missiles stationed in Western Europe give way to new ground-to-ground missiles. These weapons will be superior in many parameters, in particular accuracy and radius. Even to the layman it is clear that Rogers' latest project is one more rung up the ladder of nuclear escalation.

The NATO defence ministers discussed the project at in-camera meetings of the Nuclear Planning Group in March and December of last year. But it did not evoke any enthusiasm. According to NATO Report, the West European allies were against "a concept of seeking the installation of a yet newer generation of nuclear missiles so shortly after the lengthy debate that rocked Europe over the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles." General Rogers himself admitted that his project cut across West European anti-nuclear sentiment and could create "trouble" for allied governments.

The Nuclear Planning Group is to meet again in the Federal Republic of Germany this month. The Supreme Commander evidently hopes his third attempt will be more successful.

His new project not only conflicts with the spirit of Geneva and the world public's anti-war mood, but is also incompatible with his own earlier programme. When promoting the modernization of NATO conventional weaponry through sophisticated technology several years ago, the five-star general alleged that this would serve to replace tactical nuclear weapons with conventional arms and that as a result there would be more of a "threshold" to prevent the development of an armed conflict into nuclear war, which would in turn consolidate security.

Nor does the programme to modernize tactical nuclear arsenals dovetail with the widely publicized withdrawal of some U.S. systems from Western Europe. The NATO leadership presented the October 1983 decision to withdraw 1,400 items of nuclear munitions to the U.S. over a five-year period as a practical contribution to nuclear disarmament. True, even amongst the allies few had much faith in it. The London Observer commented that it was a propaganda move to influence the public on the eve of the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe. Militarily speaking, the weaponry being currently withdrawn is ob-

**What is on General Rogers' mind!**
Photo from U.S. News and World Report

solescent and cannot compete with the warheads carried by the latest American medium-range missiles.

We now begin to discern one more motive behind NATO's tactical "disarmament": by scrapping obsolescent weapons it seeks to make room for new and more sophisticated ones.

**V. BOIKOV**

Brussels

F.R.G.

# CHANCELLOR UNDER INVESTIGATION

When Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl was invited to take part in TV's Channel Two programme in which politicians meet the press, he qualified government policy with his habitual optimism, declaring that the F.R.G. was "on the right road." However, his face fell when Die Zeit editor Theo Sommer asked:

"Would you resign, Sir, if the prosecutor were to initiate an inquiry or present an indictment?"

Sommer then mentioned the fate of former Economics Minister Otto Lambsdorff, who had had to resign after being accused of accepting bribes from the Flick concern. At present his case, as well as that of his predecessor Hans Friderichs, and that of Eberhard von Brauchitsch, former president of the Flick board of directors, are before the courts.

But what does this have to do with the Chancellor? The Flick exposure tore the lid off the whole system of illicit funding of political parties. For years banks and concerns had contributed large "donations" to party campaign coffers via various fronts, thus circumventing the tax laws. Major recipients were the CDU, CSU and Free Democratic Party that are now in government. Nevertheless, these machinations were brought to the notice of the public. The Bundestag, as well as the Rhineland-Palatinate Landtag, were obliged to set up special commissions of inquiry. The Chancellor also testified, but in the view of Otto Schily, Bundestag deputy for the Green Party, he twice lied deliberately in response to questions. Schily has appealed to the prosecutor's office with a well-argued case against Chancellor.

Such is the background to Sommer's question, which the Chancellor preferred to sidestep on the grounds that he "had given no thought" at all to the accusations.

However, he will have to give them thought now. The TV programme went out on a Thursday. By the following Monday, having considered Schily's application, the Koblenz prosecutor's office had decided to start an inquiry.

Kohl is known to have been in the good graces of the former owner of the huge industrial empire, recently sold by Flick to the Deutsche Bank. In the list of recipients, kept by Flick's accountant Diehl, Kohl's name occurs a dozen times. Between 1974 and 1980, according to Diehl, the CDU Chairman received a total of 565,000 marks.

The prosecutor's decision has provoked consternation in government quarters, for this is the first time in the history of the F.R.G. that a case has been instituted against a Federal Chancellor. It is realized in Bonn that however the investigation ends, the prestige the Chancellor, and indeed the entire ruling coalition, enjoys has been undermined. There is less than a year to go till the Bundestag elections, and the investigation, which may drag on for months, will strike at the entire coalition. News media supporting the government have openly threatened the judiciary.

The judicial inquiry was initiated at a time when the ruling coalition planned to close the chapter on the Flick affair. The Bundestag commission of inquiry, largely composed of deputies from the ruling parties, had drawn up a report claiming that the charges of venality against parties and politicians had "not been confirmed." However, it had manifestly overreached itself, unaware then that the worst was yet to come.

**Our Own Correspondent**

Bonn

U.S.A.—AFRICA

# WHAT DOES AMERICA WANT WITH SAVIMBI?

Soon after the head of the counter-revolutionary group UNITA Jonas Savimbi ended his 10-day visit to the United States and the euphoria orchestrated by the Rights had subsided, some sober voices began to be heard in Washington. Of the chorus of puzzled comment about the unprecedented honours accorded this "freedom fighter" the most oft-repeated was: what does America want with Savimbi?

After all, the United States is not at war with Angola, and the American nationals residing in that country are in no danger whatsoever. Even the CIA has conceded that UNITA stands no chance of winning the conflict either with or without U.S. arms. Nor can anyone count on the government of the MPLA—Party of Labour yielding to the blackmail and agreeing to compromise with the counterrevolution. Besides which, to play such a marked and soiled card as Savimbi is in itself demeaning.

Americans can find the answers to their questions in the President's State of the Union message read out early in February. Reagan grandly promised to increase U.S. aid to bandits in different parts of the world "not just to fight and die for freedom but to fight and win freedom."

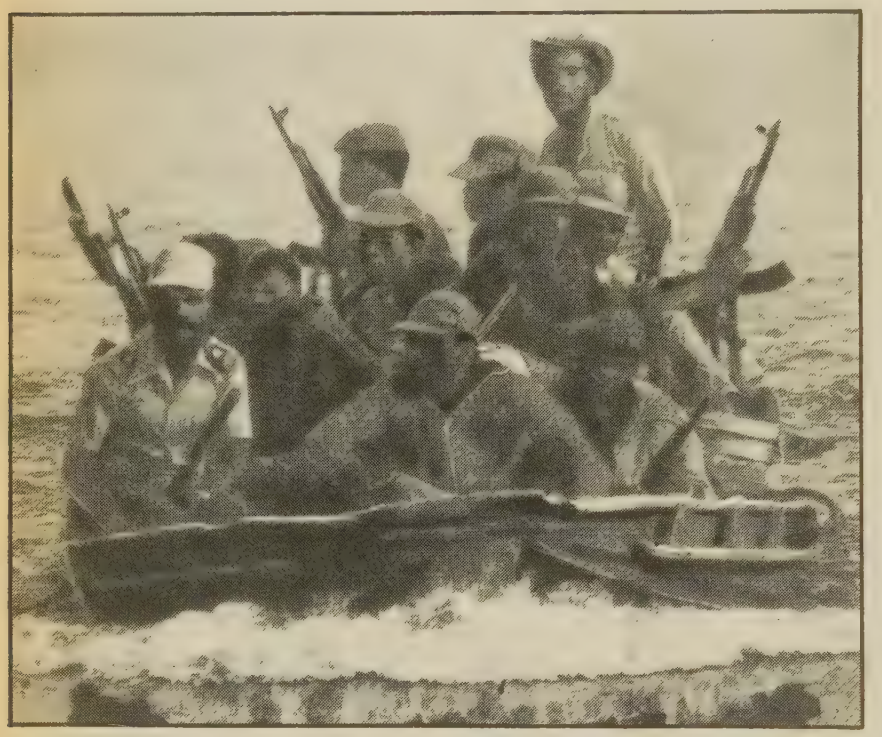
Actually, the Reagan Administration is not interested in stability or in political settlement of regional conflicts—no mention of this was made in the message. The purpose here, as before, is to include local conflicts in the global confrontation with the Soviet Union, to use them to heighten international tension. Despite its professions of dedication to the spirit of Geneva, the U.S. is bent on "legalizing" its interference in the affairs of other countries and continues to pin its hopes on undeclared wars and subversion, overt and covert.

Savimbi was needed to show whose side the U.S. has taken in the conflict in southern Africa. By according the bandit leader red carpet treatment and promising him millions of dollars' worth of military aid, the White House revealed its main objective: to bring about the overthrow of the lawful government of a sovereign state, a member of the United Nations. The U.S.

needs Savimbi so as to conceal the failure of its policy of "constructive co-operation" with South Africa and the collapse of its diplomatic efforts to settle the problem of Namibia in its own way. The counterrevolutionary leader is being used to cause more destabilization in Angola and create a pretext for the continued occupation of Namibia by South African troops.

Lastly, Savimbi can also come in handy in spreading the myth that it is not racism but communism that is the main cause of the crisis in southern Africa, a myth that suits the purposes of both South Africa and the United States. It was not by chance that Savimbi presented himself in Washington not as a friend of Pretoria but as an enemy of Moscow and "pro-Soviet" Luanda.

As for this long since compromised pet of the American "new Rights," Washington has never been particularly squeamish in its choice of political expedients. After all, the whole collection of Washington's "freedom fighters" is dismally uniform, the idea evidently being that with a little skilful handling some use can be made of any killer. It is a fact that the firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly spent $600,000 on publicity for Savimbi (Pretoria put up the money). Following all the rules of high-powered salesmanship, when the shoddiest goods can be sold if attractively packaged, the killer was decked out in the fashionable garb of a fighter not so much for freedom as against communism. The $600,000 key opened the doors for Savimbi to the highest echelons of Washington. President Reagan, who had cancelled all appointments on account of the Challenger disaster, found time to receive Savimbi in the Oval Office. Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and CIA Director William Casey held talks with him as with a head of state. TV companies gave him their best time and the newspapers, their front pages. The whole thing would have smacked strongly of Hollywood had it not been overshadowed by the very real threat of future suffering for millions of Africans.



**UNITA bandits commit their acts of sabotage and terrorism in small groups like this.**
Photo from the Jeune Afrique (Paris)

There is no longer any contradiction between the words and deeds of U.S. Administration policy as regards the problems of southern Africa, as there was when Washington proclaimed its desire for a peaceful settlement of these problems while in reality deliberately complicating their solution. Now there is frank talk about solving the problems by force. The only obstacle it sees is the presence in Angola of a Cuban military contingent which is helping that country to defend itself from aggression from without. That is why fresh forces are being rushed not against the aggressor, South Africa, but against his victim, Angola.

Hypocritically opposing sanctions against South Africa on the grounds they would supposedly strike at the Africans and damage the interests of the American companies, Washington at the same time is exerting pressure on the U.S. Chevron-Gulf corporation to stop oil extraction in Angola. The possible consequences for the Angolans are not taken into account, inasmuch as the sanctions are to be taken against a "Marxist regime" and not against a "friendly" racist state.

Clearly, it is South Africa and not Angola or any other "frontline" state that is to blame for the tragedy of southern Africa. But such "trifles" are unimportant in the context of the new globalism policy. All the more so since the men in the White House continue to believe that if U.S. money and arms are combined with the South African army and the UNITA bandits, a repetition of Grenada could easily be staged in Africa. In this sense Washington's support of Savimbi accords not only with the objectives but also with the spirit of American conservatism, which prefers alliance with racist, dictatorial regimes and bandit groups to constructive steps towards easing regional tensions.

**B. ASOYAN**

DENMARK—EEC

# TACTICS THAT PAID OFF

Prime Minister Paul Schluter's cabinet sighed with relief when the results of the February 27 referendum on EEC reforms were published, giving a 56.2 per cent majority in favour.

The referendum had been decided upon in late January, after the Folketing had rejected the proposed modifications in the Treaty of Rome by a majority vote of the Social Democrat-led opposition. Their main objection was to

EEC reforms concerned with the coordination of foreign policies and granting wider powers to the Europarliament. They maintained that this would not only infringe upon Denmark's sovereignty, but also adversely affect its cooperation with Scandinavian countries outside the Common Market.

Having fixed the date for the referendum, the government and the political forces that support it launched a massive campaign to brainwash the public. They claimed that if the reforms were rejected, Denmark would be moving towards a Common Market walkout. The country's economy, they argued, is closely linked with the EEC and Denmark itself serves as a bridge between northern and continental Europe. By quitting the EEC, Denmark, it was claimed, would lose its annual 40 billion crowns in hard currency receipts, and its agriculture would lose its basic market, causing unemployment to mount. Finally, it would impede "the progress of other European countries." (Rome and Athens had refused to agree to the reforms before the results of the Danish referendum were known.) The pro-NATO camp also contended that an EEC walkout would call Denmark's NATO membership in question, thus adroitly playing on moods in Denmark, where most people are in favour of the country's membership of NATO.

Bourgeois newspapers regularly featured public opinion polls which invariably showed growing support for Common Market reforms. Evidently, behind the scenes here were the Big Businessmen, who feared that Denmark might indeed quit the EEC, although a walkout was not really on the cards.

The cabinet's tactic of indoctrinating the public, along with differences of opinion within the ranks of the Social Democrats and the trade unions which support them, largely conditioned the referendum outcome.

Some local papers suggested that certain elements within the Social Democratic Party had hoped that a "no" to the reforms would result in a government crisis, thereby giving the Social Democrats an opportunity to regain power. However, this was not to be. The party, its leader Anker Joergensen declared, "will respect" the results of the referendum, but will try to restrain the government from undermining Denmark's sovereignty.

Many commentators in Denmark and Western Europe generally are of the view that the referendum has been a high point in the country's political life which has had the effect of conspicuously polarizing forces. At the same time, problems arising both before and during the referendum have markedly divided the opposition, which has no common line on the advisability or otherwise of continued EEC membership.

**D. POGORZHELSKY**

CHAD

# WHO DOESN'T WANT PEACE

Hostilities between the pro-Western Habré regime and the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) have ceased. However, in the view of local analysts this is only a temporary lull which may well be followed by another outbreak of the conflict. The leadership of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has urged the belligerents to negotiate in order to restore national unity and peace in a country which has now been bedevilled by constant fighting for 20 years, a country, furthermore, considered to be almost the world's poorest.

Algeria is one of the African states insisting on a peaceful settlement in Chad. The leadership of Algeria's National Liberation Front recently condemned foreign intervention in Chad's internal affairs, saying it was aimed at sabotaging OAU efforts to secure national unity in that country. The Nigerian leadership, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, and the heads of several other states have likewise called for an end to the fratricidal war and a search for a peaceful settlement. The TGNU has declared that it is willing to enter into peace talks.

However, Hissène Habré recognizes only one "settlement," that of extending control over the entire territory by armed force. He highhandedly spurned the OAU proposal for a meeting between N'Djamena and TGNU representatives, claiming that the OAU was powerless to contribute to a national settlement. Though it is true that all efforts to secure a negotiated settlement undertaken under the aegis of the OAU or one or other country have invariably failed, it was not the OAU that was to blame but N'Djamena, which proposed unacceptable terms for the TGNU and other groupings in the country.

Habré's bellicosity in seeking to launch a "march on the north" is fomented by the French military presence in Chad and also by the fact that the U.S. is currently fulfilling its promises of military assistance. A large consignment of American armaments and a group of instructors have already arrived in N'Djamena.

However, considering this inadequate, Habré has sent an emissary to Cairo to ask not only for weapons, but also, reportedly, for troops. Though we do not know the result, the very fact that he has appealed to Egypt shows that he does not have much hope of a successful offensive with his own forces alone. Meanwhile the French command is airlifting weapons, munitions and other hardware to Habré's troops entrenched near the "red line" along the 16th parallel and is augmenting its own military contingent there. French units are also hastily building a permanent military base in N'Djamena with U.S. help. It looks as if Washington is enjoying some degree of success in its efforts to attach France firmly to its policy of new globalism.

**V. BOBROV**
**Our Own Correspondent**
Algiers

# CRUEL LOVE

Foreigners enthusing about U.S. democracy often find themselves in a fix, all the more so if they are in high office at home. Cuba's despot Batista, for example, was a darling of U.S. democracy, which also had a warm spot for Nicaraguan dictator Somoza. It likewise entertained a reciprocated love for the Shah of Iran and the rulers of South Vietnam and South Korea. Though it would be hard to list all of its favourites one is in duty bound to mention the latest, to wit, Haiti's Baby Doc. As well as a common destiny which caused so many of them to cut and run, foreign admirers of U.S. democracy share one more thing, generous returns on their love. Malicious tongues would even have it that they only admire U.S. democracy because it is free with its money.

Paradoxical though it may seem, U.S. fondness for these gentlemen is a consequence of their weakness for hard cash, not their respect for democracy. Generally speaking, U.S. democracy has a liking for devotees of Mammon provided, of course, that they profess love of democracy. Hard to believe? Let us see what the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy has to say. Though its experience doesn't amount to much as it was only founded towards the close of 1983, it is most edifying.

Its resources are channelled abroad to implement the Democracy and Public Diplomacy Initiative that the U.S. Administration announced in that same year of 1983. Ever since, the U.S. President has annually supplied Congress with the respective balance sheet. According to Endowment Chairman, John Richardson, a connoisseur and lover of democracy, the past year was most moving and satisfying. Assistance was ladled out to eminent democrats from amongst the Afghan dushmans and to a trade union grouping in Nicaragua, which last summer mounted an anti-government demonstration in Managua. Concern has likewise been lavished on pro-American parties in Guatemala and Grenada.

Everything that totters needs to be propped up. The more a thing totters, the more it must be buttressed. The latest Presidential report details a puzzling item: last year's $300,000 handout to the French National Inter-University Alliance, a political grouping opposed to the Mitterrand government and to democracy generally in France. So what does Washington wish the French? The American love of democracy is indeed boundless—and inscrutable.

**M. FROLOV**

# BANG BANG FOR THE NEXT CENTURY

The more tanks and heavy guns the Pentagon has, the more U.S. toy shops sell in the way of tin soldiers and the like. Christian Science Monitor journalist Howard LaFranchi says that seven of every ten toys sold in America are a model of one weapon or another. "A number of observers," he adds, "equate the meteoric rise in war-toy sales—from an estimated $325 million in 1982 to nearly $1,000 million in 1984—to the Reagan arms buildup."

True, one hears it increasingly demanded in the U.S. to the conveyor belt of "p violence corrupting hearts and minds be There is grave censure television which so li advertises toys that s explode. But as Amer maker kings pay well, f coming in overrides th Even American lawgi losing their fight agai toys. A bill drafted gressmen Frank L and Timothy Wirth me on television "to offe one hour of non-violent programming per day." hour, mind you, withou bang. Meanwhile Rar darling of the power p will soon invade the toy shops, the Christia Monitor predicts.

Howard LaFranchi sa need to think about th between the growing in our children's toys and a violent America. curate conclusion. An another, no less accurat from Thomas Radecki, the leaders of the Nati lition on Television "We're teaching our barbaric warfare ph This philosophy of war lence should not be ca the new generation, int century.

# IN BAD COMPANY

**A short while ago the West German Frankfurter Rundschau published an open letter from two Social Democrats, Ruth Leutheusser-de Vries and Beate Winkel-Kotthaus, to Johannes Rau, North Rhine-Westphalia's current Minister-President. Rau, who is to stand for the Social Democrats in next year's chancellorship elections, was in the U.S. some time ago where he was received by President Reagan.**

**What induced these two rank-and-file Social Democrats to write to Rau? "We were absolutely astonished," they wrote, "to learn that while in the U.S. you called for the release of Rudolf Hess. This is something we can neither understand nor sanction as we believe the consequences of such an appeal to be terrifying. . . ."**

**They observe that Hess was a nazi leader who, moreover, is brazenly unregenerate. His present advocates emphasize that this ex-deputy of Hitler is not looking for "pardon" but for "rehabilitation." "Do you really want personally to subscribe to that!" Rau is asked. That is not the only question to cause concern. The two Social Democrats emphasize that today all neonazis and neo-Conservatives, who seek to whitewash the Reich and rewrite history, want Hess released as "a symbol of Right-wing policy." The democratic public, including the Social Democrats, have always been opposed to this.**

**Many are perplexed as to why Rau decided to make this unexpected move while on the other side of the Atlantic. "Formally speaking," reader Ulrich Hain says in a letter to the Frankfurter Rundschau, "it seems to me quite logical that when visiting a man who approves of the crimes against millions in Central and South America (Ronald Reagan) Johannes Rau took up the cudgels for a man who approves of the crimes against millions of Jews and Germans (Rudolf Hess)."**

**Leaving aside the question of logic, surely it is paradoxical that, at a time when even in the U.S. the necessity to penalize nazi criminals is being understood (as, for instance, in the notorious Artukovic case), a prominent Social Democrat has thought it necessary to join the company of those who want to revise the verdict of Nuremberg, and that on the 40th anniversary of the historic trial.**

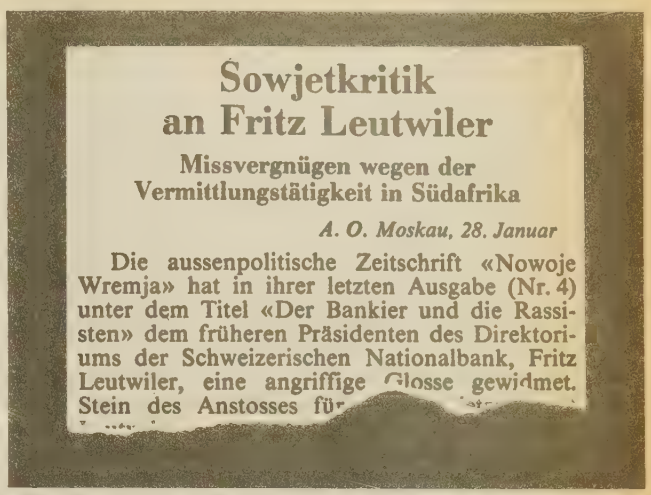
**L. BEZYMENSKY**

WHAT A FEARS

# REVERTING TO THAT "HELL OF A PROGRAMME"

It appears that the Moscow correspondent for the Swiss Neue Zürcher Zeitung was offended by the item "A Hell of a Programme" in our issue No. 4. In it I quoted what Swiss banker Fritz Leutwiler had said in Johannesburg in January. He enthused about P.W. Botha's "hell of a programme" for reform and wondered why the world had not "taken note." To whitewash the banker, the Neue Zürcher Zeitung accused us of having distorted his name by spelling it with two "l's" instead of one. (The misprint, incidentally, appeared only in the Russian-language edition.) I was also charged with having "passed him off as governor of the national bank." The paper presumably believes that cavilling about minutiae is a simpler and more effective means of questioning the accuracy of the piece than dealing directly with the content of what it describes as a "poison pen note" that "missed the mark."

Everything I quoted from Leutwiler was taken from a France-Presse Johannesburg dispatch of January 12. So much for that. Now as to Leutwiler's reasons for raving about the racist leader. The Neue Zürcher Zeitung chose to overlook that point, and one can understand why. The Swiss banker went to South Africa just before a London meeting at which representatives of 30 U.S. and West European banks were to discuss postponement of Pretoria's payment of its external debts. As doing overt racists a favour of this order would have proved problematic, it was felt desirable to make people believe that Botha was dreaming of reform. And so the bankers sent Leutwiler



**Sowjetkritik an Fritz Leutwiler**

**Missvergnügen wegen der Vermittlungstätigkeit in Südafrika**

*A. O. Moskau, 28. Januar*

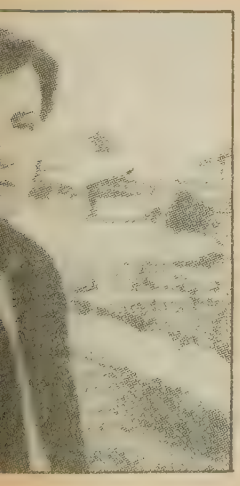
**Die aussenpolitische Zeitschrift «Nowoje Wremja» hat in ihrer letzten Ausgabe (Nr. 4) unter dem Titel «Der Bankier und die Rassisten» dem früheren Präsidenten des Direktoriums der Schweizerischen Nationalbank, Fritz Leutwiler, eine angriffige Glosse gewidmet. Stein des Anstosses für**

to South Africa to persuade Botha to announce reforms, which he did on January 31. I might add that South African bishop Desmond Tutu declared this announcement "nothing more than eyewash."

In line with a scenario written in advance, Pretoria sent its Foreign Minister to Geneva a week before the bankers were to meet. According to Reuters, Swiss "officials" found that he had "presented a strong case for racial reforms announced." Hence it would have been sinful not to put off Pretoria's indemnification of its debts. The racist leader ought to decorate Leutwiler for his part in pushing through this shameful deal. Meanwhile the Neue Zürcher Zeitung is assuring its readership that New Times is engaging in "primitive polemics."

**Y. BOCHKARYOV**

# IA FLORES



Fear is lasting and corrosive. For twenty years the residents of the Spanish village of Palomares have not been able to shake off their fear.

That winter morning a U.S. Air Force refueller and a B-52 crashed in the air directly above it. There was a fearful explosion, and along with the remnants of the planes and their crews two bombs fell from the sky and split open amongst the houses.

When the smoke cleared, children, who had run away to hide, came out to pick up and play with the fragments. Only three days later were the residents told that the bombs were atomic. To this day they do not know how large a dose of irradiation they were exposed to.

Those who do know are keeping mum. Antonia Flores, Mayor of Palomares, who was only six when the appalling accident occurred, is trying in vain to get the U.S. authorities to say. They, however, are keeping the results of the enquiry under wraps. Meanwhile locals fear the long-term consequences of irradiation.

**Antonia Flores: "When I think of the future I am afraid."**

Photo from Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)

The Palomares catastrophe was one of the first involving nuclear weapons and it is so far the biggest. U.S. naval spokesmen say there have been 630 such incidents over the past 20 years. In fact there have been far more.

Between 1975 and 1979 there were 125 cases of fuel leakage from the nuclear warhead-carrying missile Titan. For three hours a B-52, with nuclear bombs on board, blazed at Grand Forks base in North Dakota. Several days later a Titan-2 missile blew up in Damascus, Arkansas, its nuclear warhead carrying a charge equivalent to 750 Hiroshima A-bombs. By a fluke, it did not explode.

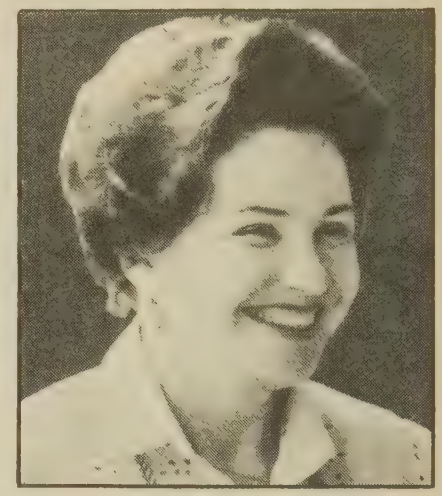
19 years after the Palomares disaster, almost to the day, a stage of a Pershing 2 burst into flames at the U.S. base in Heilbronn (F.R.G.)

Palomares is sometimes listed as the third place after Hiroshima and Nagasaki to have been hit by nuclear weapons. Will it be the last?

**D. MAXIMOV**

# WOMAN IN THE SOVIET UNION

ALEXANDRA BIRYUKOVA
Vice-Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)



Three quarters of a century ago, on March 8, 1911, thousands upon thousands of women marched through the streets of German, Austrian, Danish and Swiss cities to observe International Women's Day for the first time. The decision to institute this day had been taken a year earlier at the International Conference of Women Socialists in Copenhagen at the suggestion of Clara Zetkin, the outstanding woman revolutionary. It marked the first step towards uniting working women in the struggle for equality and a worthy place in every sphere of life—at work, in government, in culture, and in the family.

The past decades have shown that in fighting to shake off the age-old shackles the women's movement merges with the mainstream of working people battling against capital. This development was predicted by Karl Marx who wrote in the late 1860s that "great social upheavals are impossible without feminine ferment." Much later Lenin, drawing from revolutionary practice, concluded that "there can be no real mass movement without the women."

Communists have given women's instinctive striving for freedom concrete form as the struggle against a concrete enemy. Women's actions have assumed a class character.

* * *

My own experience has enabled me to see the life of Soviet women from every angle. I was born and raised in the countryside where I learned farm work. Studying at a college in Moscow, I met women of my age from different social backgrounds and different nationalities. I worked in a textile factory where women have traditionally constituted most of the work force. For more than 15 years I was head of the commission of the AUCCTU Presidium that deals with women's working and living conditions and the protection of motherhood and childhood. I am now head of a standing committee with the same function in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

At the 27th Party Congress I surveyed the faces of the delegates from my seat on the podium and was glad that of the 5,000 delegates 1,352 (27 per cent) were women. Amongst them were government and public figures, Party workers, workers in culture and the arts, scientists, and leading women workers in industry and on collective farms.

One delegate to the congress was Maria Golubeva, a dairymaid from a cattle-breeding state farm in the Altai region, Hero of Socialist Labour. She is kind yet uncompromisingly firm with herself and her comrades. Natalya Gellert, a well-known woman tractor driver from Kazakhstan and a member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., drew attention to a number of serious problems of agricultural production. She symbolizes this country's internationalism: a German by birth, she married a Kazakh and their large family speaks three languages—German, Kazakh and Russian. Addressing the congress with genuine concern for the good of her country, Valentina Pletnyova, a weaver from the flax mill in Kostroma, upbraided scientists who are out of touch with everyday life and called for an end to a mere show of socialist emulation instead of the real thing. Statesmanlike wisdom informed the speeches by Nelly Ershova, an adjuster from Perm, and Zhanna Fyodorova, a district Party secretary from the Voronezh Region.

The 27th Party Congress has brought further proof that in socialist society the highest value is placed on work. The right to work and to equal pay is great achievement of the new society. The Soviet woman fully enjoys this right. Accounting for 51 per cent of the labour force, women create a good half of the material and intellectual wealth of the country. More than a third of people's judges and more than half of people's assessors are women. One in four scientific workers is a woman. Women account for 68 per cent of the doctors and 72 per cent of all schoolteachers. These figures are, of course, impressive.

It is becoming increasingly evident with every passing year that women want not only to work well but to make their work more satisfying and interesting. More than seven million women are members of societies of inventors and rationalizers run by the trade unions. Hundreds of women have been awarded national and local prizes for innovations that have yielded a high economic effect.

The problem of equal pay to women has long ceased to exist in this country. The fundamental principle of socialism, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" became law in 1918 and is enshrined in the Soviet Constitution. In some cases women in fact enjoy preferential treatment in work quotas and pay rates. In the textile industry, for example, women over 45 have smaller quotas in servicing machines. Women assigned lighter work during pregnancy and after childbirth receive the same wages as before. The material well-being of women has been improved in recent years by the rise of wages in some non-productive branches of the economy where women account for over 70 per cent of the work force.

Equal opportunities in education (of every 1,000 wage and salary women workers 869 today have higher or secondary education) have given women a chance to take part in economic management. Hundreds of thousands of women hold top posts in industry and agriculture.

The socialist state duly appreciates the contribution of Soviet women to the nation's material and spiritual wealth. One in three government decorations for conscientious work is awarded to women. A quarter of all Heroes of Socialist Labour are women. More than a third of the front-rank workers and farmers in the nationwide socialist emulation are women. Many women have won Lenin and state prizes of the U.S.S.R.

For the Soviet woman the right to

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**At the 27th Party Congress Alexandra Biryukova was elected Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.**

work is not only a means of making a living. Work provides the economic basis of her equality in society and the family. It is in work—and this cannot be undervalued—that the woman acquires a sense of her own importance as a personality and her involvement in the affairs of the country as a whole. In the years of Soviet government we have seen the rise of a new type of woman—educated, materially and intellectually independent, mistress in her own country, work place and home.

Let us cite some more figures. Half the mandates in the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political foundation of our state and the main link in the self-government of the people, are held by women. In 1984, 492 women were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., almost a third of all deputies. Dozens of women hold important posts in the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of Ministers of its constituent republics as well as ministerial posts in these republics. One cannot help but remember that before the October Revolution of 1917 80 per cent of gainfully employed women were kitchen or chamber maids and seasonal labourers.

During the discussion of the documents prepared for the congress in work collectives, at Party and trade union conferences, in newspaper and magazine articles and on radio and TV, women put forward millions of proposals as to how to enhance the effectiveness of labour, improve the quality of goods and save materials. They openly and boldly criticized everything that impedes our advance. The same fighting spirit marked the speeches of women delegates at the 27th congress. In this way women again demonstrated that, as equal members of society, they are anxious to see the winds of favourable change gather momentum in every area of life.

A woman may be a public figure or a weaver, a scientist or a tractor driver. But it is also her mission to be a mother. The Soviet people have profound respect for the mother. It may be said that mothers are respected in other countries as well. That is true. But it is only in the socialist state that motherhood has acquired social significance.

The socialist state takes constant care of the mother and her children. Much is being done to facilitate household chores. The state backs up its policy with legislative and financial acts. This constitutes one of the main lines of the Party's social policy. "Securing living and working conditions for women that would enable them to successfully combine their maternal duties with active involvement in labour and public activity is a prerequisite for solving many family problems," the political report to the 27th Party Congress says.

* * *

The nature of my government and public activity (I am member of the Presidium of the Soviet Women's Committee and an expert of the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women) brings me into contact with many women from abroad. They are naturally interested in the position of Soviet women. For my part, I ask them about the conditions of their work, their participation in public life and their everyday problems. I am invariably struck by the contrasts between the positions of women in the socialist and non-socialist—capitalist and developing—states.

Women are denied equal rights even in many countries whose ruling circles boast of the "achievements" of bourgeois democracy. It is an extraordinary fact that the Constitution of Ireland binds the state to safeguard women against "any activity likely to divert them from their household duties."

And consider unemployment among women. In France, for example, women account for 39 per cent of the work force and for more than half of the unemployed. In the F.R.G. the figures are 38 and 55 per cent respectively. There is still discrimination in pay for women. In the majority of Common Market countries women get 25-30 per cent less than men for equal work and in the United States, 35-47 per cent.

Women worldwide pinned great hopes on the U.N. Decade for Women that ended last year. The platform of our activity was provided by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in late 1979. The states signatory to the convention have committed themselves to "adopt all necessary measures at the national level" to implement its proposals.

I was a member of the Soviet delegation to the U.N. conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in the middle of last summer that reviewed the results of the Decade for Women. We had to admit sadly that many non-socialist countries are, to put it mildly, dragging their feet on measures envisaged by the anti-discriminatory convention. The United States has even failed to ratify it. During the discussions a number of delegations from these countries tried to "depoliticize" the conference. However, the socialist and progressive developing countries managed to neutralize such efforts and, as a result, the conference produced documents with a progressive political thrust. They are clearly anti-imperialist and anti-militarist in character.

As for the socialist countries, they came to the Nairobi conference with a sense of duty fulfilled. The provisions of the convention have long been integrated into legal norms and laws and translated into everyday life in these countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, the provisions of the Constitution and Soviet legislation in many cases go further than the provisions of the convention, as the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women noted in its report.

This is not to say that we have no problems. The share of manual work in trades where female labour is employed is still high. For objective reasons the system of raising women's industrial skills is not yet effective enough. Lastly, facilitating household chores, most of which are done by women, calls for great effort.

Solutions to these and similar problems are envisaged in the Main Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the U.S.S.R. adopted by the 27th Party Congress which have set the task of improving the labour and living conditions of women. In the 12th five-year-plan period it is planned to extend the practice of letting women work a shorter day or week. The number of paid day-offs granted to mothers to care for sick children will be increased. The low-income families with children of up to 12 years of age will receive child allowances.

The Communists within the trade union movement are fully aware of their great responsibility in implementing this programme. We always remember that, as the political report stresses, "the trade unions should always give priority to social policy, to promoting the working people's interests."

* * *

The fulfilment of the innovative plans of accelerated socio-economic development and the achievement of a qualitatively new stage envisaged by the 27th Party Congress are possible only in the conditions of peace. Should nuclear war erupt, our planet would be reduced to ashes.

The struggle against imperialist plans to unleash a new war is therefore a struggle for the security of the present and future generations. Women can identify with this goal more than anyone else. Aware of the gravity of the threat to peace, they join the anti-war movement and swell the ranks of peace marchers.

Soviet women are in the front ranks of the peace champions. They extend a hand of friendship to all who oppose the arms race unleashed by the militarists and vehemently oppose war. Women in our country ardently support the Party's foreign policy aimed at ensuring for the Soviet people the possibility of living and working in conditions of lasting peace. They back this policy of peace with their inspired labour and diligence.

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# WHERE IS A GENUINE ANSWER?

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

Washington took a long time to deliver its response to Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15. The idea of eliminating all nuclear weapons everywhere by the year 2000 under strict international control and of refraining from the militarization of outer space has won mankind and given the world a glimmer of hope that there is a way out of the long and dangerous nuclear tunnel. What was the White House to do under the circumstances? To accept the Soviet idea of a nuclear-free world would seem natural and logical, given that the American leader had admitted, in no uncertain terms, the inadmissibility of nuclear war and of seeking military superiority. Instead of giving a clear-cut response to the Soviet bid, however, Washington prefers to blur the issue, hastening to take cover behind the fence of hackneyed "power politics" phraseology and preconceptions, and resorting to all sorts of tricks. Why? Simply because it does not wish, and is afraid, to take the path of nuclear disarmament, and does not want to block the way of weapons to outer space.

Washington decided to give its response the semblance of a collective decision arrived at by NATO and Japan. The White House sent its envoys to the West European capitals and Tokyo: the leader wanted his allies to share with him the responsibility for the counter-proposals he was going to submit to Moscow and, at the same time, to create the impression that he was speaking for the whole of the "free world." The response was dispatched in time for the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The manoeuvre fell through. A response to the response was dispatched without delay. The forum of Soviet Communists let the world know at once what their attitude to the American stand was. Having pointed out that the U.S. President's response seemed to contain certain encouraging points, the General Secretary of the CPSU stated that his positive pronouncements were swamped in all sorts of reservations, "stipulations" and "terms" which in fact blocked the solution of the key problems of disarmament.

What barriers have been erected in mankind's way to a nuclear-free world?

First, the reduction of strategic nuclear arms is made conditional on the U.S.S.R.'s acceptance of the "star wars" programme.

Second, intermediate-range nuclear missiles will be removed from Europe only provided the Soviet Union turns a blind eye to the further replenishment and modernization of British and French nuclear arsenals, and weakens its defences in Asia while allowing American strike weapons to remain there.

Third, Washington insists on a unilateral reduction of Soviet conventional arms.

Fourth, the American Administration says it is prepared to discuss measures for arms limitation only if the regional conflicts issue is included in the talks.

Fifth, the nuclear problems are being complicated with those of bilateral relations and human rights.

Are there not too many artificial barriers? How are we to reach the path that leads to agreements on a nuclear-free world? The White House leaves it to us to remove the obstacles while it erects new ones and comes up with new demands. While engaging in political extortion, it offers nothing in exchange. It demands endless concessions but will not itself move an inch. And while rejecting sensible proposals, it proposes nothing sensible in their place.

Washington would not listen to reason. The whole world demands that nuclear tests be stopped, and that the example the Soviet Union has set by proclaiming the moratorium be followed as the first step towards saving mankind from total destruction. At the 40th U.N. General Assembly 120 states voted several times for the resolution demanding an end to nuclear tests. But what does the White House care for world public opinion? Nor does it care a fig for the resolution of its own House of Representatives which has just declared, in principle, for an end to nuclear tests, and called upon the President to stop the testing of nuclear-pumped lasers, which are key elements in the "star wars" programme. This has all but brought upon Congressmen accusations of high treason.

Congress's position merits attention. American politicians are, in all probability, increasingly aware of the fact that since Geneva U.S. public opinion has not been inclined to favour bellicosity with regard to the U.S.S.R. or to support ever newer militaristic programmes. According to The New York Times, the White House is seriously concerned about the fact that "internal polls revealed, for the first time, declining public support for the buildup" of military might. The more sober-minded Congressmen take heed of this change in public sentiment.

Jerry Huckaby, a Democratic member of the House of Representatives, said that the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev recently were of far-reaching importance, and suggested that the U.S. should follow the example of the U.S.S.R. which imposed a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests.

Another Congressman, William Green (Republican), is of the opinion that the U.S. should negotiate a nuclear test ban because it is in American as well as Soviet interests.

All in Congress understand perfectly well why the Administration does not want to stop nuclear tests. The reason is that it wants to acquire new-generation nuclear weapons, Edward Markey, a Democrat, pointed out. Gerry Studds, a Democrat, remarked bitterly that the current U.S. Administration did not regard arms control as its policy objective.

> In short, the modern world has become much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of force. It cannot be saved and preserved if thinking and actions which for centuries have been predicated on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts are not shed once and for all, irrevocably.
>
> From the political report of the CC CPSU to the 27th Party Congress

It is easy to see why Washington evades a direct answer to the question of whether it is ready to give up nuclear weapons at all. An analysis of Reagan's reply has revealed that in this document, as the Central Committee's report to the 27th Party Congress says, "it is hard to detect ... any serious readiness on the part of the U.S. Administration to get down to the business of solving the cardinal problems involved in eliminating the nuclear threat."

Now what are the Americans prepared—and preparing themselves—for? Let us listen to the President himself, who made a number of statements in rapid succession after it transpired that his response had won him no political or propaganda kudos either at home or abroad. "Instead of probing an interesting Soviet bid for getting started at last, it [the U.S. Administration—V.K.] merely hems and haws," The New York Times comments editorially. Andreas von Bülow, a defence expert in the SDPG's Bundestag faction, considers Reagan's response inadequate. The Tokyo Shimbun finds it unconvincing, too.

Seeking to neutralize this impression and to make out a case for super-militarization, Ronald Reagan decided to invoke once again his remote predecessor, George Washington. He twice quoted Washington's maxim, "to be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving the peace," in his statements of February 26 and 27.

George Washington, the first President of the United States, went down in history not as a preacher of militarism, however, but as a progressive leader, the moving spirit in the fight for American independence. Besides, times have changed. Intensifying preparations for war in our nuclear and space age is not a means of preserving peace, but a means of provoking war which, if it erupts, will destroy all, no matter how well prepared for war they may be. The parroting of a dictum which has outlived itself is no substitute for thinking over ways of stopping material preparations for a nuclear war. Stopping such preparations is the only effective means of preserving peace.

The U.S. is certainly prepared for war. Stepping up this preparedness would only amount to an admission of political bankruptcy, the inability to settle its own and world affairs without recourse to arms—and may well end in suicide.

It is an imperative of our time to be prepared for peace, prepared to reach an agreement with the other side, to check the arms race together before it gets out of control, and to renounce the emphasis on armed force in international relations.

What did we hear from the President of the United States after his return from Geneva?

"Strength is the most persuasive argument we have. . . ."

"The only guarantee of peace and freedom is our military strength and our national will...."

"In the real world, peace through strength must be our motto...."

"Our adversaries, the Soviets—we know from painful experience—respect only nations that negotiate from a position of strength." (A case of applying their own yardstick to the Soviet Union.)

"If we listen to those who would abandon our defence programme we will not only jeopardize negotiations with the Soviet Union—we may put peace itself at risk." (Could the President name a single American demanding such a move?)

Just so many banalities? Yes, of course. We are bound to hear much more of the same kind from those who, as the Russian satirist Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin put it, grind the same tune (a militaristic one this time) from their little "barrel-organ" on any occasion. These banalities are by no means harmless. If peace really is jeopardized one day, it will be through the fault of those who resort to such banalities, cheap propaganda stunts and unrestrained demagogy.

To paraphrase an old adage, from his attitude to nuclear weapons, one can tell who a man is and whether or not he rejects war. The specific nature of these weapons leaves no room for hegemonistic ambitions and the pursuit of military superiority. These weapons render the policy of nuclear confrontation senseless. They rule out aggressive doctrines and conceptions and all that smacks of adventurism.

Nevertheless, the Pentagon and NATO staffs still proceed from the assumption that modern weapons can be used and should be built up further (although there are enough of them already to destroy all life on earth many times over). Western military doctrine does not exclude the possibility of a first nuclear strike. For all the NATO statesmen's talk about their desire to see the world nuclear-free, this desire remains academic and is not supported by actions.

If Western ruling quarters regard nuclear weapons as evil at all, they regard it as a "necessary evil" only, as an absolutely necessary "deterrent," hardly dispensable in the foreseeable future—and, consequently, as a means of achieving their political ends. For as long as these views predominate mankind will not get anywhere near nuclear disarmament. Unfortunately, common sense has not yet prevailed in the capitalist world's mightiest power which still thinks in terms of nuclear confrontation and "star wars," in terms of neoglobalism which elevates terrorists, conspirators and bandits to the rank of "freedom fighters ... challenging communist regimes" in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, Kampuchea, and Ethiopia; and in terms of "technological superiority." The President of the U.S. declares: "We have to translate our lead in the lab to a lead in the field." It is hard to tell whether this statement comes from arrogance or from underestimating the capabilities of others. Such underestimation is fraught with most unpleasant consequences for presumptuous politicians who would be well advised to recall the awkward position their predecessors found themselves in after the Soviet Union had produced its hydrogen bomb and launched its first artificial earth satellite.

The Administration in Washington and the overwhelming majority of the international community are poles apart in their views of modern realities. Here is a striking example. People worldwide are of the opinion that it would be madness to spread the arms race to outer space, making it a theatre for

> It looks as if some people in Washington and elsewhere, for that matter, have grown accustomed to living with nuclear weapons, linking with them their plans in the international arena. However, whether they want it or not, the Western politicians will have to answer the question: are they prepared to part with nuclear weapons at all?
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> From the political report of the CC CPSU to the 27th Party Congress

"star wars." The White House takes an entirely different view: "It would be pure folly for the United States not to press forward with SDI."

In his response to the Soviet programme for nuclear disarmament, the President emphasized the intermediate-range nuclear missile issue. Could this be an indication that Washington has decided to break the deadlock over at least one of today's pressing issues? Not at all. The White House has simply unearthed the "zero option" of 1981 and given the project (which violates the fundamental principle of equal security) a "new look" by extending the proposed term of its implementation to three years, and stopped at that.

There is one new development, though. Washington, which has until recently fumed at those of its allies who were in no hurry to receive Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, is now saying that times have changed and that the same allies are not allowing their master to take his weapons away.

Let us not simplify matters. Certain quarters in Western Europe are inclined to think that the deployment of nuclear missiles has been accepted by its peoples and that they have become resigned to these missiles and learned to live with them. There are certain forces ready to bargain over the removal of first-strike weapons from their countries' territories. Ruling circles in the F.R.G., Italy, Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands are loth to play into the hands of the opposition and the anti-nuclear movement, which may ask, with good reason: if you are removing the missiles after all, why did you consent to their deployment here in the first place? London and Paris are afraid lest the West European public encroach on their own nuclear arsenals once they are rid of the American nuclear missiles.

Indeed, the situation has changed somewhat. But who are some American commentators trying to fool into believing that, having deployed its first-strike weapons in Europe, Washington has suddenly turned into a "dove" and is eager to remove these weapons, while its allies have gone "hawkish" and won't allow it to do so? "Now it is our turn to be 'peace party' in the Western alliance," Jeane Kirkpatrick writes in the Washington Post without a shade of irony. The West European public's attitude to the Pentagon's Trojan horse has not got any better, although the ardour of the anti-nuclear movement may have abated a little. As for pro-American circles, they have shared out the roles and are now putting on an act on the Atlantic stage together with Washington. To believe them, the allies are afraid lest the U.S. President find the new Soviet nuclear disarmament proposals "too tempting." Washington claims that the allies have seen the light at last and are now "affirmative about the value of American nuclear missiles to their security" and "rely heavily on nuclear weapons to offset the Soviet advantage in conventional forces."

Quite recently West European officials vied with each other to assure the world that if there were no SS-20 missiles and if this issue were not linked with space and strategic arms, there would be no American missiles, either. Now that the U.S.S.R. has accepted this approach, those on both sides of the Atlantic are shuffling their feet. As Egon Bahr, an SDPG leader, remarked, "Washington offered to withdraw the Pershing 2 missiles in exchange for lesser concessions than those the Russians are now prepared to make, and it would be preposterous if the American government were unable to respond to the Soviet proposal because of us."

By trying to shift responsibility onto one another, the NATO countries are not making the situation in Europe any better, or reducing the number of missiles deployed there. Using this discussion over intermediate-range missiles, Washington would like to bring all Western countries around to the hard line it has taken with regard to the Soviet programme for nuclear disarmament in and outside Europe.

What such a line spells for the western part of the continent is already becoming clear. General Bernard Rogers of the U.S. army, Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces in Europe, announced the other day that plans are afoot for the deployment of the Pentagon's "miracle weapon"—binary nerve shells—in Western Europe. This is certainly not the last test the nerves of West European politicians have been put to.

The Geneva summit was a sort of peak in Soviet-American relations over the past few years. There are more and loftier peaks to conquer, but Washington's response and the statements issuing from it give the impression that even the Geneva peak has proved too high for it, and it would rather climb down.

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The snow-white cone of Mt. Fuji, the symbol of Japan, is plainly visible from the fishing town of Yaizu on the Pacific shore of Honshu Island.

Local fishermen believe that if the mountain is not obscured by clouds on the day they put to sea, it is a portent of good luck which often makes all the difference to those who daily risk their lives grappling with the elements. This probably explains why the hieroglyph "fuku," which means "good luck," occurs so often in the names of the vessels berthed in the port of Yaizu. Alas, this hieroglyph, beautifully inscribed on the side of the Fukuryu Maru No. 5 (The Lucky Dragon) tuna boat, brought no luck to its crew of 23. The voyage which started on January 22, 1954, ended in a tragedy which came as a shock to all Japan and to the world. In commemoration of it, campaigners for peace and nuclear disarmament observe Bikini Day every March 1.

"The voyage went wrong from the start, so the captain decided to try his luck off the Marshall Islands, our traditional fishing ground," Y. Misaki, the Fukuryu Maru's trawlerman, reminisced in a voice touched with emotion. "The night was dark and quiet. At 3.50 a.m., just before sunrise, I went up on deck with a sextant to take the ship's bearings. Suddenly, a blaze flared in the west, refracted off the sea in myriad sparks like bright sunlight. A multi-coloured ball of fire rose above the horizon, then waned and turned into a mushroom cloud. The glow lasted for ten minutes or so, and then pitch darkness fell. We heard a noise which grew into a deafening roar. The sea became choppy, it began to rain, and a strong gale blew up. And at seven in the morning we came under a downpour of what later came to be known as 'death ash,' coral sand into which the American H-bomb had turned a part of Bikini atoll. We felt our faces and hands stung with sharp grit which covered the whole of the ship in a thick layer of white. A sandstorm at sea—it seemed fantastic! We eyed the white, sand in amazement, and Aikichi Kuboyama, our radioman, filled a vinyl bag with it—just out of curiosity, as a memento—and thrust the bag under his pillow. By evening all of us had developed headache and nausea; we felt weak, and our eyes smarted. The captain decided to return home. It took us 16 days to get to Yaizu from Bikini. We knew nothing about the H-bomb then and did not realize we were suffering from the effects of radioactive contamination. Neither did the doctors at the hospital we were admitted to. The truth emerged entirely by chance after a Yomiuri correspondent happened to turn up in Yaizu.

# "FUKU" BROUGHT NO LUCK

They showed him our tuna boat, still covered with 'death ash,' riding at anchor in port, and brought him to our hospital."

On September 23, 1954, Aikichi Kuboyama, the radioman, died of the consequences of the American H-bomb test. The other crewmen were discharged from hospital on May 10, 1955, after more than a year of treatment. However, nuclear death still shadows them. It claimed another Lucky Dragon fisherman in 1975, and another again four years later. The tragedy of the Lucky Dragon is by no means over for its crew, and for their children.

Another 856 Japanese ships fished off the Marshall Islands in the spring of 1954 while the Pentagon was carrying out a series of H-bomb tests. Like the Fukuryu Maru, they did not enter the off-limits zone around Bikini atoll. Nevertheless they, too, found themselves within the "death circle"—the exposure zone which proved three times the size of the proclaimed off-limits area. Their crews also suffered and died from exposure to radiation, only their fate was not made public like that of the Fukuryu Maru's. The Japanese Communist Party paper Akahata reported recently that senior-formers and teachers from nine schools studied, with local doctors' assistance, three of the 270 fishing crews which had happened to be in the exposure zone off the Marshall Islands. The examination revealed that the effects of radiation had caused 14 deaths.

At one time U.S. spokesmen shifted all responsibility to the fishermen themselves, accusing them of having trespassed on the off-limits zone. It was only recently that the Pentagon declassified the documents which told the truth about what had actually happened. It turned out that a number of "mistakes" had been made. The explosion yield proved double that planned (17 megatons), and the test was carried out at a moment when the wind was blowing away from the off-limits zone. But the bomb was exploded before the wind changed direction: the Pentagon was in a hurry to fill its arsenals, already full to bursting, with hydrogen weapons so as to gain superiority over the Soviet Union. This haste, and the insane dream of "the big stick," have caused many tragedies—and are bound to cause more.

"Prevent another Lucky Dragon, ban nuclear tests, scrap nuclear weapons!" These demands were chanted at a meeting in the Fukuryu Maru No. 5 museum. Before setting off on a traditional peace march from Tokyo to Yaizu, participants gathered in front of the Lucky Dragon which now lies at anchor for ever. They walked in turn to the white clinkerboard side bearing the black hieroglyphs Fukuryu Maru No. 5 and spoke briefly and succinctly: on the inhumanity of nuclear weapons, the inadmissibility of the militarization of outer space, the realism of the Soviet proposal for delivering mankind from the nuclear threat, and the need to start working towards that end without delay.

At the meeting, I recalled what Y. Misaki had told me in parting: "It is only the victims of the consequences of a nuclear blast who can understand how we feel on learning about each new nuclear test. The Soviet Union's moratorium on all kinds of nuclear tests holds back the slide to war, and I am thankful to the Soviet Union for it. The plan put forward by Moscow to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear self-destruction merits every praise. All statesmen must take this chance of saving their nations from the horrors of new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis, and of preventing more tragedies like that of the Fukuryu Maru."

The fishing trawler Fukuryu Maru No. 5.

A peace march from Tokyo to Yaizu.

Photos by author

**Our Own Correspondent**
Yaizu—Tokyo

The March 16 parliamentary election is going to be a "moment of truth" for the ruling Socialist Party

# BEFORE THE TEST

VITALY GUSENKOV

The French Socialist Party (FSP) is presenting an account of its five-year rule and the extent to which its practical policy has matched its declared objectives. After the landslide victory of 1981, the party found itself in an enviable position. Its candidate had been elected President of the Republic. It had won a clear majority in parliament—269 seats out of 491. The Socialists formed a cabinet, taking all the key ministerial posts, and took over the main levers of state power. Has the party made full use of its favourable position to carry out its election promises? What does it have to show for its five years in office?

Socialist Party leaders realized from the outset that the "Left-wing experiment" in France would depend for its success chiefly on their ability to find the solution to vital economic problems. The main emphasis was placed on structural reforms. The intention to "break with capitalism" was proclaimed for all the world to hear. Combating unemployment and promoting social justice were high on the list of priorities.

The nationalization of a number of leading industrial companies and banks, intended to strengthen the position of the public sector, was among the first positive steps taken by a government which, along with the Socialists, also had representatives of the French Communist Party (FCP). Some other democratic reforms were carried out as well. The Socialists' ardour for reform, however, weakened fast as they came up against the resistance of the monopolies and Right-wing circles. Strong pressure was brought to bear on France from the outside, especially by Washington and Bonn which warned Paris, without mincing their words, that it was out of step with its chief Western allies.

Towards the end of 1982 the government began to depart from its initial policy line and finally, in the spring of 1983, adopted an "austerity programme" based on capitalist principles. Modernization of production was chiefly geared to France's need for "survival" in the face of competition from the F.R.G., the U.S. and Japan. There was a shift of emphasis from combating unemployment to reducting inflation and the balance of trade deficit. Further social reforms were shelved. The U.S. magazine Newsweek stated with unconcealed gratification that France was sliding to the Right and that conservative tendencies were coming to predominate in its economic policy. In a word, the Socialist Party arrived at a compromise with international financial and monopoly circles and the influential faction of French Big Business which believes that France's future lies in deeper integration with Europe.

Has this compromise saved France? Leading members of the government and the Socialist Party are trying hard to convince the public that the worst is over. They present the lowering of the inflation rate from 13.6 per cent in 1980 (when the Right were in office) to 4.7 per cent late last year as an epoch-making achievement. This is an achievement, to be sure, but France still lags behind its main rivals in this respect. The Socialists are keeping quiet about the facts that in 1985 France's foreign trade balance deficit amounted to 25 billion francs; that the country's technological dependence is growing, with one in two machine-tools and two thirds of its electronic equipment imported; that its domestic and foreign debt reached an all-time high—1,200 billion francs—at the end of last year. Nearly 100,000 million francs are paid out annually to repay the debt.

The Socialist Party has proved unequal to the country's social problems. Unemployment now stands at 2.3 million (or 10 per cent of the total able-bodied population), as against 1.7 million five years ago, in spite of the Socialists' promise to arrest its growth. The party is trying to justify itself by saying that it inherited unemployment from the previous government. But there is no denying the fact that 600,000 jobs have been axed under the pretext of modernization.

The policy of austerity and its social consequences give rise to widespread pessimism, disappointment and feelings of doom. The result is that conservative and even ultra-Right-wing tendencies are on the increase, as instanced by the growing popularity of the neofascist National Front.

On the whole, Big Business is pleased with the current policy of the government, which is "moving in the right direction." Nevertheless, the Socialist Party has failed to win the monopolies' favour. On the one hand, private company owners are demanding greater freedom of action which they supposedly need to expand "French presence" on world markets. On the other hand, they are extremely cautious, take no risks, and would rather engage in financial speculation and export capital than invest in domestic production.

Curiously, the cabinet is currying favour not only with financial and monopolistic circles, but with "realists" in the Right-wing opposition as well. Was it not for their benefit that Prime Minister Laurent Fabius made his famous statement to the effect that while in office his government had undertaken all the "dirty work" previous governments had proved unable to do? This admission shows that the FSP has crossed the Rubicon: the behaviour of French social democracy is now more in keeping with that of a capitalist business manager than of a reformer.

The problem of political alliances is now facing the Socialists in all its magnitude. They came to power largely thanks to Communist support. The policy of alliance with other Left-wing forces and cooperation with the FCP, proclaimed at the Socialist Party's Epinay congress in 1971, was regarded as a basic line of its strategy. True, its leaders maintained then as they do now that the union of the Left could only prevail if dominated by the Socialist Party. They made no secret of their intention to weaken the Communists and oust them from the political scene. After 1981, the Left began to disintegrate rapidly.

The plenary meeting of the FCP Central Committee in the summer of 1984 arrived at the conclusion that the Fabius government had reneged on the common programme of the union of the Left and the commitments undertaken by the Socialist Party. Under the circumstances, the French Communist Party decided to withdraw from the government. Trying to save face, the Socialist Party leaders hastened to accuse their former partners of splitting the alliance, and to shift the blame for the disintegration of the Left to the FCP. It was obvious to more serious observers, however, that with an eye to the parliamentary election the Socialist Party was seeking to get rid of a former ally it no longer needed as soon as possible so as to have more room for various political manoeuvres.

The new electoral system—proportional representation—introduced in 1985 on the FSP's initiative effectively ended the union of the Left. From now on each party is to fight the election under its own banner. The FSP dreams of winning no less than 30 per cent of the vote. Such a showing, it believes, will inevitably make it the "centre of attraction" for other political forces. With whom exactly are the Socialists going to share power if their dream is realized? Various alternatives are being considered. Prime Minister Fabius is toying with the idea of a "republican front" with "Left-of-centre" groupings and "progressive figures" outside the Socialist Party taking part. In fact this is nothing new. A strategy like this was tested back in the sixties by the SFIO,

the FSP's immediate predecessor. The alliance proved disastrous for French social democracy.

Another alternative is "coexistence" between the Socialists and previous ruling parties in the event of their election success. The prospect outrages FSP leaders who say that the Socialist Party would rather join the opposition than throw in its lot with the Right. The political analyst Duverger, close to the FSP's upper echelons, says that the experience of being in office has rid the Socialist Party of its former tendency to verbiage and given it the makings of a major political force which can alternate in power with the opposition parties.

The Socialists are counting on a substantial proportion of the vote and have so far adhered to the principle

**This placard sums up the results of the Socialists' time in office: "No job. No money. Just a franc or two, please. Thank you."**

Photo from Vie Ouvrière (France)

that no replacements should be made in a winning team. Symptomatically, the FSP leaders have been actively resorting to Leftist phraseology of late. They are trying to present their party as the only force capable of averting the "danger from the Right." The presence of François Mitterrand in the Elysée Palace is one of the Socialists' trump cards. Claude Estier, a leading FSP figure, believes. The President has said he is going to remain in office until the expiry of his term. Observers comment that François Mitterrand's decision to take part in the election campaign will be of help to the FSP in a situation where leadership struggles and heated debates on the terms of "coexistence" with the Socialists are in progress in the Right-wing opposition.

Jacques Durand, the prominent FSP ideologist, warned that being in power might compel the Socialists to break with theory for the sake of pragmatism. The prediction, made in 1981, has not proved entirely groundless. Indeed, the ideology of the Socialist Party has undergone marked changes in the five years since then. The radical talk about "breaking with capitalism," "self-governing socialism" and "the class front" has given way to enthusiasm for the values of the market economy, free enterprise and technocratic society. When the FSP was in opposition, its experts dwelt at length on problems of planning and the development of the public sector to which they allocated the key role in the economy. Following a series of nationalizations, however, many in the government and in the Socialist Party began to question the efficacy of this measure. Edith Cresson, Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism, said in an interview that she did not subscribe to religious dogmas (meaning in this case nationalization). "I do not object to reducing the level of state participation in industry," she stressed. As for planning, the Socialists put an early stop to it. On adopting, in 1981, an "intermediate plan" which has never materialized, they named modernization their No. 1 priority, proceeding from criteria which have nothing to do with planning. As an FSP leader put it, the country's further integration into the international division of labour makes planning possible only as part of the effort to adapt the French economy to the world (i.e., capitalist—**V. G.**) market. The press caustically described this retreat as "an ideological Berezina," referring to Napoleon's ignominious flight from Russia in 1812.

The Socialist Party's foreign policy has also undergone curious changes. In its programme documents it committed itself to disarmament, security and independence. Upon coming to power, however, it swung round to Atlanticism. The Socialists unconditionally supported the NATO decisions on the deployment of Euromissiles in Western Europe, solemnly reaffirmed their "allied duties" within the framework of NATO, and swore an oath of allegiance to their mighty transatlantic ally. In this the FSP leaders went even further than their Social Democrat counterparts in other West European countries. At the congress of the Socialist International in Portugal in the spring of 1983, for instance, the French Socialist Party took a strong pro-Atlantic stand and voted against the disarmament resolution.

The problems involved in the "strategic interaction" between France and the F.R.G. are the subject of increasingly lively discussion. Bonn has long been trying to talk Paris into committing itself to the possible use of French nuclear weapons from West German territory—specifically, Pluton tactical missiles, the Hades missiles now under construction, and the Mirage and Jaguar planes with which France has equipped its air force. The French government has agreed to hold consultations with Bonn on this issue, while making it clear that consenting to consultations does not mean consenting to Bonn's participation in decision-making on the use of nuclear weapons. The question arises: will not such consultations be the prelude to a public declaration that French "national interests" extend to the territory of the F.R.G.? Such a declaration would pave the way for the deployment of French nuclear weapons on the other side of the Rhine.

Hard reality has, however, compelled the FSP to modify some of its foreign policy objectives. This was evidenced by its approach to the U.S. "star wars" programme. The Socialist government and the FSP have declared against the militarization of space and disapproved of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). True, the government does not prevent French companies from signing SDI contracts. The directors of Matra and Aerospatiale, large corporations connected with the military-industrial complex, have already annouced their intention to do so.

Until quite recently the Socialists made the development of relations with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries conditional on a number of stipulations and provisions. It took them some time to realize that such a policy is unproductive and detrimental, above all, to French interests, whereupon they thought better of it. The Soviet-French summit last October gave an additional impulse to cooperation between Paris and Moscow.

It does not pass unnoticed in Paris that the closer the election, the louder the government and the Socialist Party declare that they have much in common with the opposition in the sphere of foreign policy. In a Le Monde interview published under the meaningful title of "The Logic of Consensus," Roland Dumas, Minister for External Relations, named the specific matters on which his government and the opposition see eye to eye (in the light of international factors and for the sake of national unity, as he put it): defence policy, "European construction" and relations with the Third World.

Indeed, the opposition had every praise for the government's intervention in Chad, complaining only that the action "came too late." In short, the first steps towards "coexistence" have been taken.

Summing up the results of the FSP's five-year rule, the conservative Le Figaro points out that the party has finally relinquished the cloak it wore in opposition. Well, Le Figaro probably knows what it is talking about.

# THE LAND AROUND HANOI

From Our Special Correspondent BORIS KOZLOV

We came to a stop at the end of the path, and my guide pushed the lianas apart.

"Look..."

Our vantage point on the hilltop offered a panoramic view of a vast plain stretching beyond the horizon. Desiccated tree trunks protruded crookedly from the dry, barren land. Neither the chirrup of birds nor the rustle of leaves came to us from that land—it was dead.

It had been killed 15 years previously and no attempt to bring it back to life had been to any avail. The invisible fumes of Agent Orange easily penetrated living organisms, whether plants, butterflies or children, and destroyed their genes. It not only killed life in the organism itself but passed on a deadly legacy to its progeny.

The lethal traces of some works of human hands, grim and shameful but imprinted indelibly in human memory, are increasingly visible on the body of our planet. Verdun, Auschwitz and Hiroshima—each is a tiny dot on the map, but what was perpetrated there in wartime—clouds of yperite, the gas chambers and nuclear death—is the shame of civilization. Now some Vietnamese provinces have been added to this geography of horror.

The furnaces of Auschwitz were made into a memorial after the war as a warning to mankind. The names of the citizens of Hiroshima incinerated by an atomic bomb were entered in the Book of Memory of the peoples. But what are the Vietnamese, who fought for 30 years after the second world war to remain independent, to do with that dead land?

* * *

Rice is the livelihood of the Vietnamese.

We drove northwards, towards Hanoi, and grains of rice sprayed from under the tyres like the water that had given them life. The Vietnamese harvest, drying on the hot asphalt, rustled under our Volga car.

The method of rice drying in Vietnam is entirely foreign to the European. Rice is planted in the rainy season and harvested in the dry. When the rice has been gathered it must be dried thoroughly because there is much moisture in the grain—but drying grounds are virtually nonexistent. That is why after every harvest (there are two or three a year) sheaves of rice are heaped on the asphalt roads, worn by the war and time, and the rainy season gives way to the Great Drying season.

A top priority for Vietnam in the current five-year period is to resolve the food problem. The state has set out to ensure the subsistence minimum and do even better than that in some localities. This calls for a per capita production of roughly 400 kilograms of food (in terms of rice) annually. Today's staple foodstuffs, fruit and vegetables, do not have enough calories, and there is too little meat. The country with a population of almost 60 million has a mere 5,000 milch cows, and even those are grazed in remote mountain areas which are hard to reach as there are no good roads. Thai Binh Province, in the Red River delta, has fertile land, while the mountainous regions nearby can sustain beef raising. However, there is as yet no good transportation link between the valley and the uplands.

Attempts are now being made to replenish cows with dairy buffaloes. Experiments are being conducted at a research centre in Hanoi with 1,000 pedigree buffaloes supplied by India. If they are a success, the animals will begin to be bred in the country. Initial results are encouraging.

...Squares of rice paddies sparkled damply as we drove past. Every rice paddy is, in fact, a pond crossed by beds of earth. Women stood knee-deep in water, scooping duckweed into wicker baskets and heaving it out onto the bank of the pond. Duckweed is, perhaps, the only natural fertilizer available to Vietnamese peasants, but to obtain it they have to stand in water for hours, scooping the green mass with their baskets. Any farmwork is hard but the toil of rice growers in Vietnam is especially hard because it depends on fertilizers, which are almost nonexistent, and on water which has to be carried to the paddy. Chemicals were used in the war of annihilation waged on Vietnam. But now chemicals are needed to boost the economy. This is the paradox of the scientific and technological revolution: it brings life and prosperity if it is put to the service of man and deals death if turned against him.

* * *

...Damp fog enveloped the mountains. It was the season of monsoons, drizzling rains that can last for weeks. They had turned the dirt road to mud and when we pulled off the asphalt onto a field, the driver got anxious. The car got stuck in the heavy brown earth as it struggled towards a group of buildings amidst some bushes in the distance. We walked to the door and were welcomed by our hosts, Doan Thai Phien, deputy director of the Institute of Soil Studies, and Nguyen Trong Thi, a soil engineer.

We were offered tea on the veranda, according to Vietnamese tradition, and had an unhurried conversation about prospects for the harvest and meat production.

"There are 2-3 kilograms of meat per Vietnamese a year," Thai Phien said. "It is really far too little as compared with other countries: the figure in Czechoslovakia, for instance, is 85 kilograms. So we are not going to produce enough animal protein in the next five years."

"Yet proteins are needed now. Is there any way out?"

"We are trying to expand the production of vegetable protein, soya," Trong Thi said. "Both milk and cottage cheese can be made from soya, so it is quite promising. In the past ten years areas under soya have trebled to reach 90,000 hectares. We are planning to expand them to 200,000 hectares. The needs of the population can then be met and soybeans can even be exported, for instance, to the CMEA countries, which show a growing interest in this crop."

Rice and soya are traditional crops in the tropics.

"But have any products from other countries been added to the Vietnamese diet in the past 100-200 years, such as potatoes?" I asked the deputy director.

It turned out that during the 1950s, under French rule, potatoes were considered a delicacy in Vietnam and served only in luxury restaurants. Today they are a staple and grown everywhere. Eight to nine tons of potatoes are gathered per hectare and the country's one-season harvest is about a million tons. So in one sense rice shortages are being offset. But nature gives the Vietnamese no respite: typhoons, floods and torrential rains destroy the soil in the lowlands, and the damage done by them is close to that caused by the war. So the country has to build up food reserves against natural disasters.

Here are some figures supplied by the Council of Ministers of Vietnam. Last year the country produced 800,000

tons of grain more than the previous year while between 1981 and 1984 the annual increment in grain production averaged one million tons. But it is too little.

The simplest way seems to be to expand areas under crops. This is indeed being done but expansion alone cannot solve the problem. Vietnam is a mountainous country and crop farming is concentrated in the deltas of two rivers, the Red River in the north and the Mekong in the south. There are no other reserves, and the rapid population growth, which averages 2.5 per cent a year, has long put Vietnam among the countries with the smallest ploughland area in per capita terms. A further problem now is to keep the population growth down.

One more option is the introduction of machinery. However, this requires funds, because tractors and harvesters have to be bought abroad as no domestic farm machine industry has yet been developed.

This leaves a third option, to drastically improve soil fertility. Up to recently there was no idea in the country of the character of its soils, and the first national soil map, making it possible to take a scientific approach to raising soil fertility, has just been completed.

First of all, scientists took stock of and evaluated poor, degraded soils. There are more than three million hectares of these acid, saline lands, which yield less than one ton of grain per hectare. But if the chemical structure of the soil is altered and fertilizer introduced, up to 6-7 tons of rice per hectare can be obtained yearly. The average harvest at present is 4-5 tons.

"Where do those lands lie?"

"Here, take a look...."

I looked out. There was an orchard next to the veranda and blue mountains rose in the distance. The slopes were cut with terraces, narrow strips of water between banks of earth, running down to the foothills. For hundreds or, perhaps, thousands of years people had cultivated those slopes. Rains and hoes had destroyed the topsoil and changed its chemical composition, so now the land must be made fertile again.

"This work is already being done," the deputy director said. "About five years ago we began to regenerate the topsoil on our coffee plantations."

"And what is the situation in the rice paddies?"

"The task is the same, to improve fertility. We will try to boost fertility in the Red River delta to 8-10 tons per hectare in the next five-year period. It is quite a realistic project."

"But you are not a farming enterprise, you are a research centre."

"Quite so. But farms, such as the Di Phong cooperative which you are going to see, have now had contracts with our institute for several years."

Three years ago the institute concluded a contract with a struggling cooperative, did an analysis of its soils and made agrarian recommendations. The farmers followed the scientific advice to the letter and boosted production from 7 to 11 tons of rice per hectare. This year the target is 12 tons. Cooperation is based on cost accounting: the cooperative spends its share of the profits obtained from the marriage of science and production to buy fertilizer to boost harvests, while the institute uses its share to expand and improve research. The institute gets 10 per cent of the cost of each extra ton of grain produced by the farm, and if there is loss of output because of erroneous scientific recommendations, the institute reimburses the farm. This, however, is yet to happen.

"And how did you spend your profits on the latest harvest?"

"Running the institute and expanding research. We bought computers for our physics laboratory. They are expensive Japanese computers but their efficiency recoups the investment."

"Do you have contracts with other farms?"

"We do, based on the same principle of equal responsibility and profit sharing. We even have contracts with whole districts. The order of the day is now the chemicalization of national agriculture under the CMEA Comprehensive Programme. Our institute is to resolve the problems associated with the scientific distribution and introduction of chemical fertilizers, and to formulate a development strategy in this complex economic sector. This enormous project, given the time limits, cannot be implemented by Vietnam single-handed so the countries of the community will give a helping hand."

Dusk was gathering. The orange sunset silhouetted the blue outlines of the distant mountains, as if the conflagration raged anew beyond them. But no, the napalm had burned out long ago, Agent Orange had been dissipated by the wind, and shells no longer fell. Now, beyond the mountains the land was dead, a desert. But here, the fertile earth was breathing and coming to life.

Heaven and hell? Here, both the dead and the living land were the work of human hands.

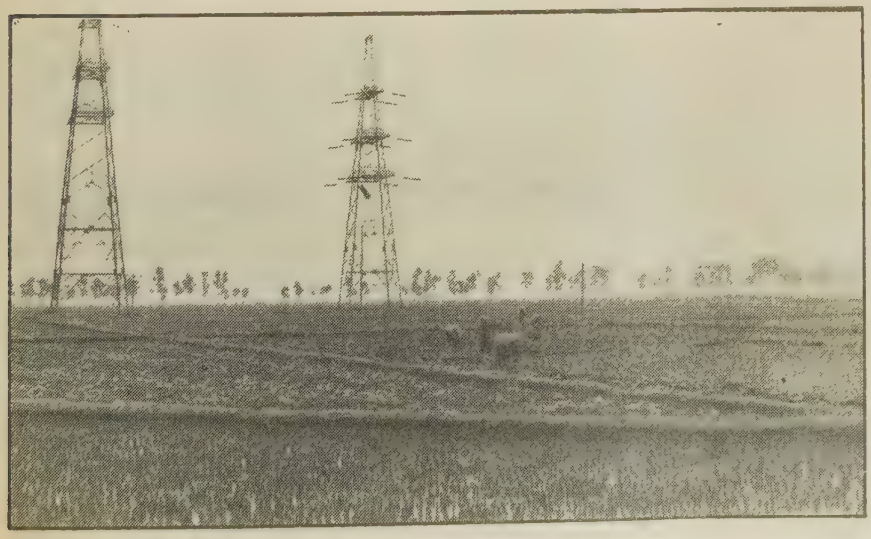
• • •

It seems that now that agriculture is fighting a life-and-death battle and the country faces enormous difficulties, every effort should be applied to the main job, harvesting. The punctuality and perseverence characteristic of the Vietnamese comes into play: he reclaims farmland from Nature patch by patch, brings water to it and introduces fertilizer. So the economy is beginning slowly, like a heavy ship, to turn onto a new course.

Little things contribute to the common cause. The country cannot provide its schoolchildren with enough paper but has scraped together resources for the Institute of Plant Protection. The effort and sacrifice have paid off: the staff of the institute have evolved a biological field control system at an unprecedentedly fast rate.

Take the land around Hanoi, for instance. It is for the most part a vegetable-growing area and up to recently hordes of pests made farming unprofitable here. The institute studied the crop rotation system, crop yields, the migration patterns of pests, crop strains, and pest resistance—and eventually came up with recommendations. Specifically, about one litre of pest control agents per hectare was used; the strain of grain was changed on the scientists' recommendations and no more chemicals were needed. Altogether, 50 tons of chemical fertilizer, 3-5 kilograms per hectare, were introduced in the area every year. After the in-

**High-voltage power transmission lines have given a new look to the Vietnamese landscape.**



stitute had completed its research and produced recommendations, the rate of introduction was lowered to 500 grams per hectare but harvests have grown considerably. Pests were rampant in a nearby area, notwithstanding all chemicals. Crop strains and chemicals were replaced on the institute's recommendations, and the pests were done away with within one season.

"Our goal is to reduce the introduction of chemicals per hectare," the institute's deputy director Le Van Thue told me.

What he did not say was that chemicals were bought with hard currency and a rigorous policy of economizing demanded the rational use of imports.

* * *

Not long ago there were five struggling cooperatives some 20 kilometres from Hanoi. They had between them about 60 hectares of farmland, which produced one or two rice crops a year. Life was getting harder, so the farmers decided to pool their resources, which meant bringing together 1,560 families, or 7,400 people, of whom only 2,264 could work. The rest were children and old people.

But things began to look up after the reorganization. It became possible to apply scientific achievements in farming. The cooperative concluded an agreement with the Institute of Soil Studies, which suggested that they introduce new rice strains in accordance with the soil map. Following the advice of scientists, the cooperative also relevelled its rice paddies. It took three years to level out and refurbish a huge system of irrigation ditches. When the job had been done, it turned out that there was not enough fertilizer for the newly obtained land. The farmers turned again to the institute and, following its recommendations, began to prepare specific brands of fertilizer for every rice strain. Harvests grew from 4.8 to 7.5 tons per hectare and the main problem, that of food, was resolved.

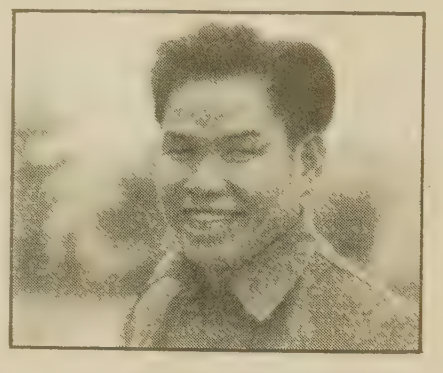
The next problem on the agenda was child care. Crèches were set up and today they take care of 390 children, virtually the entire preschool population of the cooperative. Then followed a preparatory class, which took in 400 children, then an elementary school (160 pupils) and a secondary school (140). The secondary school is now the responsibility of the district authorities and children from the cooperative are taken to classes by bus.

Cooperative chairman Le Van Mui is grave and attentive and has a military bearing. He nodded politely in welcome, and invited us to follow him onto the veranda.

"You want to know about the work and life of our cooperative," he said, opening his notebook. "Here are some figures. . . "

Our conversation was a long one.

Afterwards we went out to see the farm. As we drove round it we saw, through the wet leaves of a bamboo grove, the tile roof of the hospital (two physicians, 7 nurses, free treatment), then the front entrance of the community centre (amateur artistic activities, an orchestra and a folk art group).



**Cooperative chairman Le Van Mui has been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.**
Photos by author

Films are shown at the centre every fortnight, and performers from the capital give two concerts every three months.

"You've told us what your farmers are doing. But what about the elderly?"

"Those who have retired on pension are given 4.5 hectares of orchard to look after. Altogether 150 people take care of this huge orchard. Old men and women from our five villages raise trees along roadsides and cultivate medicinal herbs: we pick them up, process them in a special workshop and make our own drugs. And here is our cottage industry workshop serviced by 450 people. They make bricks, other building materials, and also carpets. Carpets are exported and bring in additional profit."

"And how are you doing in your main line of production, rice growing?"

"Judge by yourself. We sold the state 340 tons in 1976 and 800 tons now. We produced 15 tons of pork a year at that time and now the figure is 90 tons."

The chairman was reticent but extremely polite. As we walked round the farm, however, he had to take leave of his visitor every now and then to turn to everyday business: there was paddy spread out in the rain in one place and it had to be taken in immediately—where were the people to do it to be found on a Sunday? Then children ran out of the school into the street—but why so early? Had the teacher fallen ill?

Back in his office Le Van Mui shook the raindrops from his sun-bleached tunic and got out a file:

"Here are our plan targets for this year: 10-12 tons of rice per hectare, and 5 pigs per hectare of farmland. Then comes our cottage industry. It means currency. We are about to introduce new crops, also export-oriented, such as potatoes and soybeans. Another important point: all houses in the villages are to have tile roofs and all new houses are to be built of brick. Then, the party committee has decided to reexamine work at every level and find ways of improving production. The families of cooperative members are encouraged to start subsidiary production on allotted plots of land on the "vegetable garden—fish pond—pigsty" pattern. Crop growing should also be practised intensively, on the basis of scientific recommendations, by individual families. We must balance out in our cooperative personal and state incomes. People must live well if they are to work conscientiously."

"What problems are especially acute today?"

"We are short of power. Different rice strains need different moisture contents in the soil, so irrigation has to be differentiated. But we have erratic power supplies for irrigation. The whole country, not just us, has power shortages. Hence we grow less than we could. We try to find ways of offsetting power shortages and cultivating the land more intensively, without giving it a respite, so contamination with chemicals is growing and pests are multiplying...."

Dark gathers fast in the tropics. It was just after six p.m. and large stars were already twinkling overhead. It was time to take our leave. I asked the chairman how long he had been working. It turned out that he held his post for 21 years, previously heading one of the five farms which had united. He has worked since childhood, with the exception of a 3-year course of studies at a livestock-breeding school.

As for his parents, his father was executed by a French firing squad as a resistance fighter and his mother, now aged 80, is a pensioner, lives in the cooperative and, like many others, looks after medicinal herbs. The chairman himself is 49 and has six children, one of whom is a physician, another an engineer, and still another is in the army. His wife, a farmer, also works on the cooperative.

Night had fallen and nature had gone to sleep. Only muffled voices and the sound of an engine carried to us from a distant field: an irrigation ditch was being laid there as the land, killed by the war, was being given a new lease of life by human toil.

Mui saw me to my car and we said goodbye.

A warm rain was drizzling, blotting out the landscape, and the figure of the chairman soon disappeared in the glistening fog.

Hanoi

# TORMENTED BUT UNVANQUISHED

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

This is where he had stood, his shoulders squared defiantly and his feet firmly planted on the concrete of the small courtyard outside the entrance to the school dormitory, barring the way to the Israeli raiding party breaking into the Jubayl Amel boarding school for children whose parents had been killed in South Lebanon.

## School of Courage

"Hussein Msheimish fell here," a lad of about seventeen told me, pointing to a large wooden cube covered with red cloth on top of which lay dog-eared textbooks and copybooks with writing in a bold hand. "These are all his. We're raising a monument to him here."

With their guns at the ready, the Israeli soldiers looked on as the youth, cut down by bullets, staggered back onto his feet only to collapse into a clump of rosebushes, the blood streaming from his chest.

The full story of the raid on Jubayl Amel, some 10 kilometres from the South Lebanese city of Tyre, did not get into the press until several months later, when the occupying forces left Tyre and withdrew to the frontier, retaining their hold on what they call the "security belt," a strip of Lebanese territory 8-12 kilometres wide.

"The Israelis had long wanted to settle scores with our school," said Abdelmajid Saleh, one of the leaders of the patriots waging an armed struggle against the Israeli occupying forces in South Lebanon. "From literally the very first days of the occupation it had been an important centre of our struggle against the aggressors."

Israeli tanks had smashed through the concrete wall surrounding the school and, after the burst of gunfire that had felled Hussein Msheimish, opened random fire at the windows. Then the pupils and teachers were driven out to the school playing ground and the soldiers proceeded to ransack the classrooms, workshops and dormitories.

They destroyed the library, rifled the school cashbox, seized everything of any value in the workshops—machines and tools. While this was going on, the pupils and teachers were held in the yard under the icy wintry rain. The pupils, juniors as well as seniors, were taken one by one to be interrogated by military intelligence officers in one of the classrooms. Who had driven a Mercedes filled with explosives into an Israeli army column the day before? His name? The names of his friends? Who had provided him with the car and the dynamite?

The children were silent. So were the teachers. For three days the interrogation went on without interruption. And

all three days the icy rain poured down on the hungry children and adolescents chilled to the bone.

The Israelis may have known through their agents that it was a pupil of the Jubayl Amel school who had carried out the operation in which about 100 of the invaders, according to the Beirut papers, had been killed or wounded. Or perhaps they simply wanted to vent their spleen on this well-known South Lebanese school and to terrorize the youth. But they achieved nothing, and finally they left, taking with them a few senior pupils chosen at random. The school was blocked off from the outside world for another week. Representatives of the International Red Cross and local doctors who tried to bring in medical supplies and render first aid to the injured were not allowed to enter the grounds. The "siege" was raised only after word of the tragedy reached the world press.

Now we stood at the wide window overlooking the road leading to Tyre, or rather the crossroads beside which lay a heap of twisted metal. We had just been at the spot some 200 metres from the school where Hassan Kasir, a Jubayl Amel pupil, had run the Mercedes packed with dynamite into the Israeli troop column.

One of Kasir's friends had filmed the incident from this window. But it was only many months later that the film was shown on television screens the world over—after its author had gone through Israeli dungeons, the Ansar concentration camp and the Israeli prison of Atlit, whither he had been taken by the invaders from South Lebanon on suspicion of being involved in Hassan Kasir's operation.

I saw that film several times. It is short and quite unprofessional, but its simplicity and artlessness make it all the more tragic and poignantly dramatic.

It opens with a view of a road lined with one-storey peasant houses. At first the road is deserted, but then the Israeli armoured carriers and trucks with troops come into sight. The column moves cautiously, slowly passes the crossroads. At that moment a Mercedes appears from the right. The sequences jump: the photographer's hands were shaking. It's going to be now! But the Mercedes swings to the right, passes the column and disappears from sight. What went on in Hassan Kasir's mind at that moment? Was he cursing himself for having been a fraction of a second off in his timing? Or was he coolly calculating how to hit the column so as to cause the maximum damage? After all, he knew that the column was on patrol and was bound to return soon. Or did he falter at the last moment, overcome by the fear of death?

Again the column appears on the screen. Now it is approaching the deserted crossroads, and begins slowly to pass it. At that moment Kasir's Mercedes appears again from the right and smashes into the very centre of the column. It is a silent film, but one seems to hear the deafening explosion as the screen is enveloped in black smoke, shot through with red flashes of flame. The picture leaps up, plunges down, and breaks off....

The senior pupil who took the film made sure that it was very well hidden.

So well, in fact, that the raiders never found it, though they turned the school upside down. If they had found it one can imagine what they would have done to the pupils and teachers of the Jubayl Amel school.

"But who was it that filmed Hassan Kasir's feat?" I asked that question repeatedly both in the South Lebanon area where the patriotic forces operate and in Beirut.

The answer was the same everywhere. "His name cannot be divulged. The Mossad will be bound to make short work of him and his family. After all, he was Kasir's comrade-in-arms."

I walked through the school during class hours. In the classrooms on the ground floor the pupils, both the children of the junior forms and the moustached seniors, were attentively listening to their teachers, answering at the blackboard, or working on their written assignments. The routine was that of any school. Yet the atmosphere was very much out of the ordinary. Not only because portraits of fallen patriots, some darkened by time, others quite new, are seen everywhere on the walls. It is a school located if not in the frontlines then at least in the frontal zone. At any moment it can be shelled by Israeli artillery or the guns of the band of Tel Aviv mercenaries known as the "South Lebanese army" as had happened on the eve of our arrival at Jubayl Amel when the invaders shelled nearby Tyre.

**Lebanese arrested during a manhunt being taken for interrogation.**

TASS photo

Now too on the bulletin board, alongside study schedules and school announcements, were reports of combat operations, the passport photos of patriots who had just been killed, and brief accounts of the battles in which they had died. The wall newspaper Al-Huda (The Right Road) carried patriotic articles and calls to fight for the complete liberation of Lebanese territory from Israeli occupation, anti-Israeli cartoons, and drawings of recent combat actions of the Lebanese Resistance.

As we left the school we saw several pupils digging in the little garden where Hussein Msheimish had died.

"This is the rose he watered with his blood," one lad told us, pointing to a carefully tended bush full of buds about to open. "We intend to plant an apricot tree in memory of our Msheimish."

The Arabic word "msheimish" is an affectionate term for apricot tree.

## "Nest of Terrorists"

A small village at the junction of broken country roads. A crooked signpost saying: Bedias-Turah-Buri-Rahal. And all around, the slopes of the rocky hills of a high plateau overlooking the sea and the ancient cities of Tyre and Saida and a narrow coastal strip of orchards and tobacco plantations from which the South Lebanese peasants, mostly tenant farmers and sharecroppers, derive their livelihood.

**Arab militiamen in South Lebanon.**

Photo from Nidal al-Shaab (Syria)

Every inch of cultivated land here has been wrested from the hills. The terraces, buttressed by walls of stone, are filled with earth brought up from the coastal strip and mixed with the reddish-brown soil of the hill country. They are covered by orchards that climb up the hillside step by step towards the bald summit on which the wealthy landowners have built their villas.

It is pleasantly cool up here after the sultry heat of the coast. The air is fresh and a gentle silence reigns. Looking down from here you see on the hillsides and in the narrow green valleys below tiny villages, clusters of toy-like houses with multicoloured tile roofs, and webs of roads on which cars looking like beetles scuttle swiftly along.

I had feasted my eyes on this view suggestive of a stage setting many times and I would have paused to admire it now too, but a stern and measured voice returned me to the tragic reality.

"The Israelis call this region a 'nest of terrorists,'" a stocky man in uniform with whom we had driven here from the Jubayl Amel school observed wryly. His name was Daud Daud and he was introduced to us as the political leader of the Shiite Amal organization in South Lebanon. Our group of Soviet journalists accredited to Lebanon had come to this frontline area from Beirut on the invitation of the central leadership of Amal.

Immediately after announcing its "iron fist" policy, by means of which Tel Aviv hopes to crush resistance in South Lebanon, the Israeli occupation forces had pounced on this area. They had had a strongpoint at the road junction where we now stood.

It was a sizable stretch of flat ground surrounded by high earthwork embankments. Scattered everywhere were crushed metal shell crates, scraps of bandaging, camouflage uniforms, rusty tin cans, heaps of cartridges and bits of rubber tubing. Here and there were emplacements for tanks and armoured carriers.

"The Israelis were here for forty days, in which time the Resistance fighters attacked them 14 times," Daud Daud said. "Finally they gave up and withdrew, though afterwards too they made repeated incursions."

What he did not say was that although this area was not part of the invaders' "security zone," raiding parties could at any moment turn up here to "punish" for the nth time the local villages for aiding the "terrorists." That is why our escort was on the alert all the time and in constant radio contact with support points and observation posts which where keeping an eye on the movements of the Israelis and their hirelings from Antoine Lahad's puppet "South Lebanese army."

It was decided to go from the abandoned Israeli position to the village of Bedias which had been most frequently "visited" by the invaders who believed it to be a "terrorist" base, conveniently situated as it is for guerrilla operations. The narrow stony road winds higher and higher among the crags until it suddenly comes up to a deep gorge at the bottom of which one can see two narrow ribbons, a grey one which is the highway, and a blue one, the famous Litani River. The highway is of strategic importance, for it runs from South Lebanon's third biggest city, Nabatiya, to the Kasmiya Bridge on the main coastal road linking Tyre with Beirut and Saida. The gorge, with its steep, towering crags, had been often used by the patriots for ambushing Israeli motorized columns.

As we stood on the insecure basalt

boulders at the very edge of the precipice, the fighting men surrounding us told us about actions they had fought down below. At first glance, especially for an uninitiated observer, it seemed quite impossible to get down there from the village. But two young men, slinging their submachine guns behind their backs, slid down as agilely and noiselessly as lizards and vanished from view. It was done so skilfully that not a single stone was dislodged under their feet. We peered down tensely but suddenly they quietly reappeared among the rocks at an altogether unexpected spot and waved to us: "Come on down here, there's shelter where we can have some coffee!" they called.

This, of course, was mere bravado. But during recent raids on the village the patriots had gone down into caves in the face of the precipice the Israelis were unable to find. Only in one cave, the nearest, to which the villagers took us along a narrow ledge, had the invaders discovered and tried to seize a young patriot. The cave was stormed by an attack force landed by helicopter. The Israelis suffered losses but failed to capture the youth alive—he was killed in the uneven battle.

We were given a lively account of all this by the village boys, who had acted as scouts and messengers, and had carried ammunition, medical supplies and food to the fighting men, doing everything they could to help their fathers and brothers. They told their story all talking at once, while their mothers listened with obvious approval.

"What's more, when the Israelis came here we threw stones at them," one of them proudly announced, and all the adult villagers nodded gravely in confirmation.

Traces of the invaders' presence are still visible in Bedias. On the concrete house walls there are large brown crosses. This is how the invaders marked the houses they had already searched—or rather ransacked, smashing or stealing everything of any value. To erase the crosses was strictly forbidden: they were left there as a threat to intimidate the inhabitants even after the raiders had departed. The South Lebanese know that these crosses are daubed on houses scheduled to be blown up. And Bedias was on the Israeli "black list" along with six neighbouring villages.

We learned all this from our hosts when we were invited into one of the houses for a meal. The large room with mats covering the floor was crowded, for besides the guests and the hosts there were our escort and the hosts' friends and neighbours. Along the walls there were mattresses with multicoloured covers laid out on the floor, a low divan and several armchairs. In one corner on a rough-hewn table stood some 30 narghiles, glass smoking pipes standing on brass trays. While dinner was being hurriedly prepared, the talk began over a cup of traditional Arab-style coffee.

Daud Daud welcomed the "Soviet delegation" on behalf of all present. Yes, the villagers regarded us as a delegation and were proud that visitors from a distant land had come to their much-suffering Bedias to express sympathy and solidarity. It did not matter that we had come from Beirut and had been in South Lebanon many times before. The people of Bedias wanted us to be a delegation and no one ventured to correct their mistake.

"We welcome the first Soviet delegation here," Daud Daud said. "And we would like to see more delegations from the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries in South Lebanon whose people are fighting for the complete liberation of our native land from Israeli occupation. The best way to achieve mutual understanding is to visit one another, to meet, to talk, to find that which unites us. Friendship based on mutual understanding is eternal. Of course, we may have different views, opinions, ideologies and religions, but this should not be an obstacle to co-operation."

Everyone listened attentively to the speaker and nodded their assent.

"In turn," he went on, "we see our task in building in Lebanon a broad front of struggle for complete liberation from Israeli occupation, for the ending of confessionalism and for democratic reforms, for the creation of a new Lebanon and the coexistence of its citizens on the basis of equality, justice and struggle against exploitation. Our main enemy is Israel and in the fight against the occupation we cooperate with all patriots. All those who fight the invaders are our friends and allies, regardless of their political views. We are for a broad front uniting the Left forces, the traditionalists, women's organizations and the trade unions. This front is opposed only by collaborationists, only by traitors and Israel's stooges."

An electric generator began throbbing on the veranda. A television set and a video tape recorder, which had been fetched from somewhere while we were looking over the village, were brought in and set up.

And before long, film sequences shot secretly by non-professionals appeared on the screen: villages being raided and set on fire by soldiers, women in black garb advancing in a fury of protest on Israeli tanks, the ruins of mosques and the bodies of women, children and old men killed by the occupation forces. Tel Aviv's "iron fist" policy in all its cold-blooded brutality.

(To be concluded)

## PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

### YOWERI MUSEVENI

Yoweri Museveni, the new President of Uganda and chairman of the National Resistance Council, is a member of the Banyankole tribe. Born in 1946, he studied at Makerere University in Uganda and Dar es Salaam University in Tanzania.

In 1970 Museveni worked in the office of the President of Uganda. Leaving the country after the 1971 military coup, he lived in exile till 1979. With others, he organized abroad the Uganda National Liberation Front. In 1979-80, after the restoration of civilian rule in the country, Museveni held the posts of Defence Minister and Minister of Regional Cooperation.

In June 1980 he founded the Uganda Patriotic Movement. Following the parliamentary election in December 1980 and a clash of opinions between himself and the government of President Obote, Museveni started an armed struggle against that government. In February 1981 he set up the National Resistance Movement and its military wing, the National Resistance Army.

On January 26, 1986, capturing the capital Kampala, the National Resistance Council led by Museveni assumed power.

On January 29 Yoweri Museveni was sworn in as the new President of Uganda.

# TAKING UP A POINT

**You say that the United States imposes its will on its West European NATO partners and ignores their national interests. I think you are being too categorical about it. Apart from some minor details, NATO is an alliance of equals.**

**Lesley DRAKE**
Britain

**Writer on world affairs DMITRY VOSKOBOINIKOV replies:**

Your compatriot, NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington, also claims that the North Atlantic bloc is an alliance of equals. In a recent interview to the Spanish Pais, for instance, he flatly denied that NATO was a lineup of "one giant and 15 gnomes."

This brings to mind what Lord Carrington said in a December 1984 interview to the British Sunday Telegraph. The fact that Britain had always been one of the most tractable of the NATO countries, he said, had helped him to cope with his job as NATO Secretary-General. In my opinion, this remark gives a better idea of the nature of the relations between the U.S. and its West European partners.

Take, for instance, the "star wars" issue. President Reagan announced that programme on March 23, 1983, without any preliminary consultation with the United States' "junior partners." It was taken for granted that they would support it. But this did not happen. Western Europe and Canada realized at once that SDI was not only an ambitious, high-risk attempt to gain military superiority over the U.S.S.R., but also a thoroughly considered programme for the total "technological subordination" of the whole world, the West European countries included. Even in Britain, whose government boasts of a special relationship with the U.S., many were disquieted by SDI. For instance, a report issued by the British Atlantic Committee on February 12, 1984, called for the conclusion of an international agreement banning the testing of space weapons.

But the White House ignored all this. It is in place to recall that on July 16 last year the head of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, Max Kampelman, said that the U.S. had no intention of taking any decisions on SDI without thorough consultation and discussion with its allies. SDI was to serve to strengthen NATO unity, he said, and if it did not serve this purpose it would not be carried out. Yet by that time Denmark and Norway had already officially informed Washington that the "star wars" programme was not acceptable to them, and France had urged Western Europe to rally around its "purely European" and "safe" Eureka programme. SDI was supported only by the leaders of Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany. To go by the Kampelman formula, the project should have been dropped inasmuch as it in no way strengthened unity. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that the U.S. carried out an anti-satellite weapon test—the first practical step in preparation for "star wars." Other steps were to follow.

Speaking in the U.S. World Affairs Council in July 1985, former British Ambassador to the United States Oliver Wright observed that while the U.S. was a superpower, Britain was not, and that the term "superpower" could perhaps be defined as a power no one could order about. He likened SDI to a car in which Reagan was in the driver's seat and the heads of the other countries of the alliance on the backseat. The passengers, since they help to pay for the car and the petrol, should be entitled to a say in deciding where to drive, along what road, and at what speed.

But the road—to outer space—had already been chosen and everything else too was to be decided by the Pentagon.

In December last year, following lengthy consultations, Britain became the first West European NATO country to conclude an agreement with the U.S. on participation in the "star wars" programme. But the agreement turned out to contain no provisions guaranteeing London a definite share in the $26 billion allocated by the U.S. Administration for the first five years of SDI. Nor were there any guarantees of Britain being given access to the technology developed with the participation of British firms and researchers. Moreover, it later became known that in its relations with them, Washington would be guided by American laws. London thus was placed in the position of a filling station attendant servicing someone else's car.

A few words about the "purely European" Eureka project which was put forward as a "non-military alternative" to "star wars." Canada has decided to join in it. The newspaper International Herald Tribune sees in this "a possible first step towards participation by American companies in Eureka." Don't you think that if the U.S. gets involved in the project there will be very little of the "European" left in it? And are they not likely to hitch Eureka to SDI?

Or take the fact that the West European NATO countries have long been under Washington's "nuclear control." This applies also to the nuclear powers among them. It is estimated that the U.S. has in Britain more nuclear weapons than Britain itself. And it is common knowledge that the "independent" British nuclear force is largely dependent on the United States. Even the submarines which Britain proposes to equip with Trident-2 nuclear missiles are being designed by the American General Dynamics firm. Not to speak of the fact that the trajectories of the Tridents, just as those of the Polaris missiles, will be determined by the U.S. Joint Strategic Staff in Omaha, Nebraska.

No, there is no equality in NATO. Although talk about a "giant and 15 gnomes" may be offensive to some, it is plain to see that the U.S. is ever more brazenly seeking to order its "equal partners" about in keeping with its own "vital interests."

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# THE MONA LISA FROM VUNG TAU

It is perhaps puzzling to Europeans to think of the New Year and Spring together, but the Vietnamese take it for granted. In their country the New Year, or Têt, is the start of spring. As in some other Southeast Asian countries, they celebrate it on the first day of the first month of the Lunar Calendar, which falls before International Women's Day on March 8.

For Cao Thu Huong Têt this year ushered in her 20th spring. One tourist to Vietnam couldn't help exclaiming on catching sight of her that she was as charming as the Gioconda.

Cao Thu Huong lives in the little Vietnamese town of Vung Tau. With her compatriots she celebrates Têt by dispatching the spirit of the hearth to the Jade Lord of the Sky with a note describing affairs at home, an age-old custom still held dear by all who care for their families. In Vung Tau, at any rate, old and young alike gather to welcome Spring, wish one another good luck and happiness, and discuss the coming harvest, as people have done on our planet from time immemorial.

Today the Gioconda seems remote. Her smile intrigues but does not warm the heart. What about Cao Thu Huong? As this issue will be on sale worldwide, one can easily imagine how many people in different lands will fall for her warm, open smile and befriend the young Vietnamese girl, her home and her country.

Vietnam today is a country of young people. Indeed, they account for upwards of two thirds of the population, with under-fifteens comprising nearly half. And if the spirit of the now remote Renaissance was captured in the inscrutable smile of the Mona Lisa, this age of ours should be characterized by the beauty of open young hearts.

In Vietnam, beauty is not womankind's only virtue. In material production, women hold 42 per cent of all jobs, while in light industry the proportion exceeds 60 per cent. In Vietnam today women are a powerful social force. Their Union is the country's biggest public organization, whose 9,000,000-odd members have the right to audit all offices and institutions concerned with the work and everyday lives of women. The Union also contributes much to the development of the new, socialist woman.

Cao Thu Huong and flowers do go together. But is there not something incongruous about a girl with a machinegun? More than one generation of young people in Vietnam, however, have done their work in field and factory with gun in hand to defend peace and freedom.

Could the Gioconda have been thought of as a symbol of her time? Hardly. The Florentine beauty is still as enigmatic as ever, her smile continuing to intrigue us to this day. Cao Thu Huong, however, is indeed a symbol of her time, a Madonna of the new age. Like millions of her fellows she has tasted the horror of war, the bitterness of loss, and the happiness of love. She fervently desires to live and fight for this happy world of spring.

Text and photo
by B. Kozlo

THE WORLD IN PICTURES